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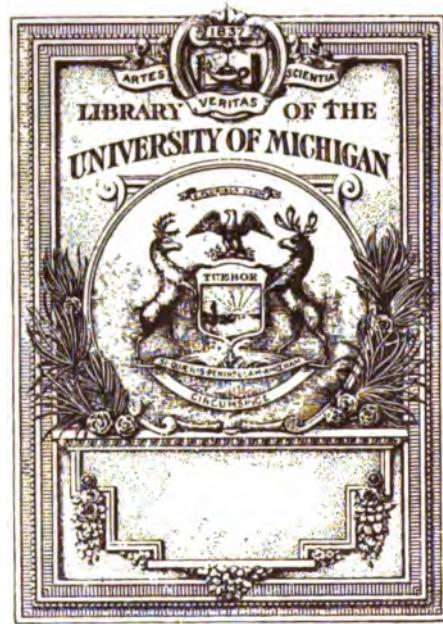
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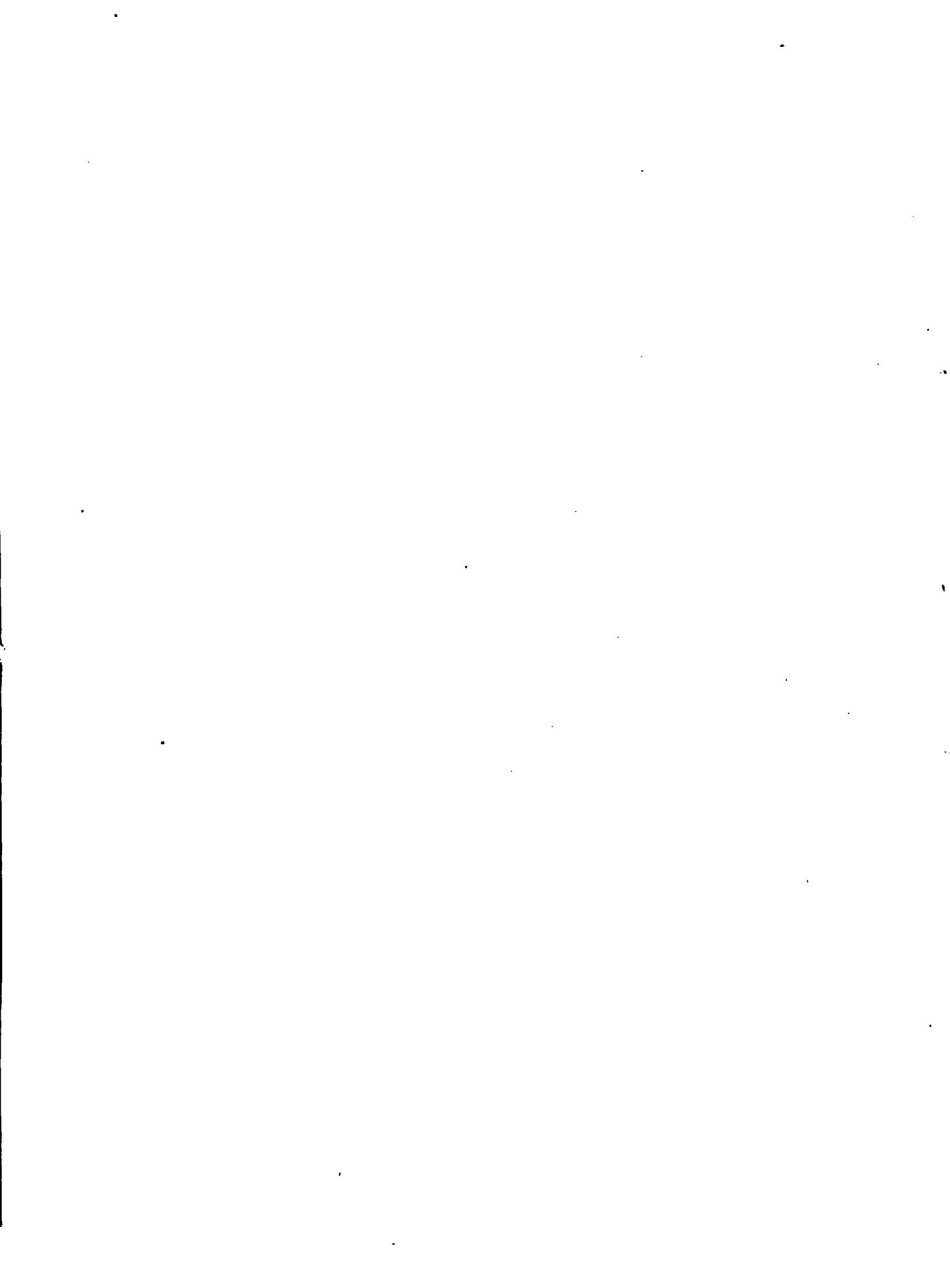
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THE LEBANON IN TURMOIL SYRIA AND THE POWERS IN 1860

BOOK OF THE MARVELS OF THE TIME CONCERNING
THE MASSACRES IN THE ARAB COUNTRY
BY ISKANDER IBN YAQ'ŪB ABKĀRIŪS

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED AND PROVIDED
WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND CONCLUSION
BY
J. F. SCHELTEMA, M.A., PH.D.

*... the good land that is beyond
Jordan, that goodly mountain and
Lebanon.—Deut. iii. 25.*



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FOREWORD.

The Manuscript of which we offer a translation, is known as Nr 759 of the Landberg Collection,¹ purchased in 1900 by Mr Morris K. Jesup of New York for presentation to Yale University. The publication of our translation was delayed by difficulties that grew out of the war and even now we have to omit, much to our regret, not only the Arabic text but also all Arabic quotations in our commentary and notes, together with such remarks of grammatical, etymological and philological import on the author's vocabulary and peculiarities of style, as in the printing would require Arabic type. He reveals himself as a Christian by the name of Iskander, son of Ya'qūb Abkāriūs. That name indicates Armenian descent; in fact, we know of Armenian protestants who bore it with distinction. Iskander, a brother of John Abkāriūs, praised by the Rev. H. H. Jessup² as the finest specimen of a refined Christian gentleman he had known in Syria, who "translated various works into Arabic and prepared an English-Arabic dictionary which is the standard work of that character for both Syria and Egypt," was himself a man of letters of no mean repute.³ Born at Bayrūt, he spent in his early life a few years in Europe and, returned to the place of his birth, became there vice-consul of the United States of America. Afterwards he entered the service of the Egyptian Government but came home to die, February, 1885, at the age of fifty-eight. In addition to his attainments as an Arabic scholar, he was well versed in English.

While his introduction to his *Book of the Marvels of the Time concerning the Massacres in the Arab Country* points to his residence at

¹ The history and a description of this important collection from the pen of Professor C. C. Torrey, can be found in *The Library Journal* of February, 1903.

² *Fifty-three Years in Syria*, p. 499.

³ His literary reputation rests chiefly on the following works, particulars about which, as about his life, we owe to Dr. F. J. BLISS: a collection of biographies of the Arab poets with selections from their writings, published in 1858; a condensed history of the ancient Arabs of the Arabian Peninsula, published in 1867; a biography of Ibrāhim Pasha of Egypt, written in collaboration with Muḥammad Makkāwy; a biography of Firūz Shāh; a collection of poems; three collections of essays; a memorial of his wife, Rujīna.

Bayrût during the disturbances he describes, he speaks elsewhere of occurrences in Damascus as one who wishes to make it understood that he played his neat little part in them. But, after all, such hints may merely be the result of his unmistakable tendency to enter into the minutest particulars—so minute in many cases that the narrator at second hand seems to assume the air of an eye-witness. His impartiality is above suspicion, at any rate we cannot doubt his earnest endeavor to hold the balance of judgment evenly between Muhammadans and Druzes on the one hand and the many sects⁴ of which Christianity in Syria is compounded, on the other. If he does not always succeed, who will refuse to make some allowance for sectarian prejudice occasionally getting the best of his honest discrimination when he casts the account of mutual hatred and brutal ferocity in that sect-ridden country? And who will smile at his imperfectly grasped western ideas, transmitted to him in vague figures of speech, strangely wedded to Arabic terseness and precision by this son of the land which, since the days of mythological heroes and sages, of fabulous master mariners and traders, has been a clearing-house for the commercial and intellectual commodities of three continents?

We should honor him, on the contrary, for attempting that task in his zeal for public discussion of public affairs, stimulated, no doubt, by local tradition. If especially the translator has a fault to find, it regards rather the technical performance than the matter. Iskander Ibn Ya'qūb Abkāriūs's handwriting is in places hard to decipher, owing to the liberties he takes with up-strokes and down-strokes; to the close resemblance that exists between his scrawls meant to denote widely different characters; to his arbitrary and varying methods of connecting letters even where no connection is called for; to his loose use of the few diacritical signs which he seemingly delights in strewing round at haphazard; to his contempt for a right marking of case-endings if he marks them at all. Furthermore we meet often a plural where we might expect a singular and vice versa; adjectives assert a proud but ungrammatical independence of the nouns they

⁴ No less than twenty-nine are officially recognised. Cf A. BERNARD, *La Syrie et les Syriens, Annales de Géographie*, January 15, 1919, and RENÉ PINON, *La Réorganisation de la Turquie d'Asie, Revue des Deux Mondes*, August 15, 1913: "La Syrie est un musée de religions et les anthropologues perdraient leur science à mesurer les crânes pour supputer les croisements d'où la population actuelle est sortie."

qualify; the employment of verbs in their various forms, followed by prepositions foreign to their régime, continually disagrees with the meanings commonly attached to those forms.

It is but natural that our author's style has a thoroughly Syrian flavor, that he is partial to Syrian modes of expression and avails himself of Arabic and exotic terms in the Syrian sense they have acquired. This, however, cannot make us overlook the fact that his language is scarcely classical; that his sentences are at times too terribly involved to establish with certainty who is who and what is what. Nevertheless he aims at stylistic niceties; he dabbles in rimed prose,⁵ apparently of one opinion with al-Hariry and al-Hamadhāny that there is no better medium for narration and oratory of the highest order; not satisfied with historical achievement, he enters the literary arena as an aspirant to poetic fame in metrical composition too. In jingling measures he strings his flowery phrases together to heighten the effect of high-flown periods, even if that effect should miscarry in an anti-climax—*du sublime au ridicule il n'y a qu'un pas!* Yet, notwithstanding this hyper-florid sing-song, several of his descriptions are admirably vivid and powerful.⁶ His narrative is enlivened by touches of sarcasm and irony, varied with observations in a moralising strain. The inevitable anecdotes show his open eye for the humorous incidents in the tragic struggle he depicts.⁷

Besides being involved and consequently obscure in his diction, he has an aggravating habit of dismissing with a single word episodes momentous enough in the light of subsequent events for a more circumstantial treatment. Striving to arrive at the inner truth of the troubles of 1860, after careful examination of their causes and the antagonistic forces at work in the Lebanon that led up to them, his mind is pre-eminently fixed not on the main issue but on accessory detail. This attitude determines while it narrows the historical value of his production. He adds nothing to our knowledge of the condition of his country in its broader aspects at the time of his writing and

⁵ Called "cooing" by the Arabian literati from a fancied resemblance between its rhythm and the murmuring note of pigeons and doves.

⁶ See f. i. his description of the battle of the Druzes and the ambushed Christians, p. 44 ff.; of the slaughter at Hāṣbayyā, p. 80 ff.; of the pillage at Dayr al-Qamar, p. 143 ff.; of the happenings at Damascus, p. 176 ff.

⁷ See f. i. the story of Colonel Ahmad Bey's discomfiture at the hands of the priest Jabrā'il Kassāb, p. 68 ff.

before and after, except for the curious light unconsciously thrown on the evil results of foreign meddling. But apart from this, the particulars he furnishes have a significance of their own and are of the more weight the more a repeated perusal confirms our belief in his good faith as he relates his impressions and observations, perhaps his personal experiences; in his sincerity, handicapped though it may be with racial and religious prejudices already referred to. In this connection it deserves mention that many of our author's minutiae are not chronicled in previously published records so far as our acquaintance with the literature on the subject goes, and that his inferences differ frequently from those given by other native and European writers.⁸

To sum up, Iskander Ibn Ya'qūb Abkāriūs's Book may be defined as a contribution of great subsidiary importance directly to the history of the Lebanon and the whole of Syria, indirectly to the history of the Christian Churches in the Semitic Orient, not only by reason of what it explicitly states and the thus far unknown details it furnishes, but also on account of what it implies to whoever knows how to read between the lines. He will become convinced of the underlying verity that the calamity which in 1860 befell the Christians of Mount Lebanon and in particular the Maronites, was largely, if not wholly, of their own making. Instigated by European Powers who, to further secret designs, gave a new impetus to the centrifugal forces at work in the Mount, they considered themselves above the law of the land which they, that is to say their clergy, desired to possess as their exclusive domain, exterminating or exiling those who refused to submit to their extravagant pretensions. When the adherents to other creeds, notably the Druzes, became alarmed at the intentions of the Maronites and of the Christians in general,⁹ and repaid them in their own coin, a tremor of indignation went

⁸ Cf. f. i. *The Unveiling of the Trouble of Syria*, part of which, treating of the massacre at Damascus, is appended in translation to Professor D. S. MARGOLIOUTH's excellent description of that ancient town, Cairo and Jerusalem.

⁹ ".....but there can be no doubt that it is the alarm which has lately been spread among the Mahometans as to the intentions of the Christians, I do not say the native Christians especially, but of the Christians generally, which has been the principal cause of the fanatical zeal latterly displayed,....." Letter, dated Therapia, August 8, 1860, from Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, British Ambassador to the Porte, to Lord Russell, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

through Europe, a thrill of horror and wrath, diligently exploited for the sake of predatory intrigue. The facts, as usually in cases like this, were distorted beyond recognition and it requires a good deal of sifting and comparing to disentangle them from the mass of conflicting evidence that supplied contemporary partisans of the contending governments with the kind of data they wanted for their concoction of the *fable convenue*, rather a conspiracy against the truth, which they dignified with the name of history.

Leaving the historic for the philosophic standpoint, it is just possible that the bloodshed which "would have been spared had the jurisdiction of the Turks been unlimited,"¹⁰ i. e. unencumbered with European intervention, was one of Nature's contrivances to provide against overpopulation by opening one of her safety-valves, as in the world's course we see her do with machine-like regularity when growing unrest marks a new period of our earth getting crowded, and wars or social upheavals or epidemic diseases step in to kill the human surplus. Anyhow the prolificity of the Syrians¹¹ coincides with the circumstance of their country having been from the oldest times a battle-ground as well as a market-place for the exchange between East and West of merchandise and religious thought. Other congruities, for instance the one that the land which was the cradle of Christianity, should continue age after age to be the scene of the fiercest encounters between Christians and Christians, can perhaps be explained on corresponding lines, but may not detain us here, save to note that the West, bestowing its Greek gifts on the East, conferring boons with usury, is always prone to depict the alleged beneficiary's ingratitude and contrariness in the darkest colors.¹² International rivalry, which pushes political and financial schemes in the name of humanity and civilisation, cannot afford to be just. Uninterrupted by the lessons of the latest great war, it goes on dis-

¹⁰ An opinion of Lord Dufferin, expressed in a letter, dated January 1, 1861, to Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer.

¹¹ Especially of the Lebanonians. Three years before the war we find it stated: "To-day, as always, Lebanon is on the verge of overpopulation and her people are pushing westward. In England, and far more in America, the Syrian is a familiar figure." E. HUNTINGTON, *Palestine in Transformation*. A. BERNARD, *op. cit.*, estimates the number of Syrians outside of Syria, at 500,000.

¹² DAVID URQUHART, *The Lebanon*, I, 180, remarks: "The perusal of Gibbon leads to the conclusion that the year 1860 was not the first in which the freest scope was opened for misrepresentation with respect to the Lebanon." Nor was it the last!

*notice
deserve
vividly*

maying us, under those same threadbare slogans, with grimly significant acts of encroachment in the Near and Far East as in Europe. With the best will to cherish the hope which thrives on looking forward as the rose on sunshine, we must confess that these manifestations of unregenerate cupidity tend rather to promote a gloomy view of the wonders of peace and good-will to be achieved by the Allied Powers and their Associates reaping their harvest of victory.

Returning to our manuscript, we have to apologise for not utilising some documents which the war kept out of our reach. Yet, such as it is, our work of inquiry in many fields of research, nearly or remotely related to our subject, will haply serve less to throw a stronger light upon than to put in the proper light a special phase of the everlasting Eastern Question which geographically may shift its focus, but even by that continual transition evades all attempts at a solution. Whenever it was possible to sift the mass of material on hand with any chance of discerning the motives behind the deeds recorded, the reasons for adopting or rejecting our author's surmises have been stated. Our translation is not a rigidly literal one though we have tried to preserve the distinctive qualities of the Arabic text at the risk of straining English phraseology. This may explain, if not excuse, some irregularities and oddities forced upon us by the original, *int. al.* the profusion of "ands" which to leave out would, in our opinion, have spoiled a certain artless simplicity in an otherwise, we fear, stylistically too highly adorned tale. With respect to its annotation we are under obligations to the officials of the Yale University Library and the Public Library of New York, whose unfailing courtesy materially aided us in our consultation of books, newspapers, maps, official and semi-official publications needed for that purpose. Lastly, what should have come first, we have to express our thanks to Professor C. C. Torrey of Yale University for his kind interest in our effort and much appreciated assistance in carrying it through.

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INTRODUCTION.

Considered from a historical standpoint ISKANDER IBN YA'QŪB ABKĀRIŪS's *Book of the Marvels of the Time concerning the Massacres in the Arab Country* imparts, within its limits, as already remarked, some extremely useful knowledge regarding the position of the Christian Church or, more properly speaking, Christian Churches in the Semitic Orient; especially regarding the activities of the different Christian sects, everlastingly engaged in mutual warfare or combined against Islām in its two great subdivisions with offshoots, which activities touched and continue to touch very nearly the difficult and delicate Eastern Question that always manages to stay with us notwithstanding the ingenious solutions periodically advanced, whose name is Legion and whose effect is Nil. The disturbances of 1860 which he describes, explosions of religious hatred in the service of ambitions foreign to the country's weal, were not isolated events but part and parcel of that Eastern Question, in itself only an episode in the long history of the relations between Asia and Europe: a chapter of the record of reciprocity between East and West as yet imperfectly written. There is no lack of works on the subject, but their authors, mostly biased by preconceived notions, prejudice or worse, rather strove to advocate the cause they had espoused than to explain how things really came about, after von Ranke's precept for the historian that he should aim at showing "*wie es eigentlich dagewesen.*" A narrative like the following, from the hand of an intelligent native, full of detail regarding the actors in the tragedy of Mount Lebanon, the "impregnable Lebanon," that venerable grave of a self-contained ancient¹ and political powder-house of our modern world, may therefore be acceptable as a contribution to the attainment of the desideratum referred to. And to derive the greatest possible advantage from such a document, we have to pay attention, first of all, to the place of action no less than to the evolution of the Mount's condition from a stormy past and its relation to events that happened elsewhere, which influenced the international situation and reacted on the status and internal administration of the Ottoman Empire.

¹ To quote a much disputed observation of J. E. RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 217.

Inspiring horror on account of the sacrifices which attended their worship of the unseen in their high places, the earliest inhabitants of the fastnesses of Mount Lebanon we know of, seem to have been left conscientiously alone by the dwellers on the coast, the traders who profited by the central position of Syria for the extension of their mercantile business to Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt and the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. Yet, they are heard from in the historical books of the Bible and in the chronicles of the armed conflict of *Graecia Barbariae lento collisa duello*. With Mecca as hub of the universe, Syria becomes for aggressive Islām ash-Shām, the land of the left hand in contradistinction to the Yaman. The crusades make it a focus of interest for western Christianity; poets *de primo cartello*, like Dante² and Petrarca,³ popularise its name and with reason. As a French author⁴ observes: No great religious, political or military movement that ever influenced the destiny of the human race, has come to a head without Syria being mixed up in it. And most of the great conquerors the world has seen and suffered, have had something to do with Syria's fortunes.⁵

As regards the Syrians, Cicero calls them people born for servitude.⁶ The male Syrian in Martial is the litter-bearer *par excellence*; the female Syrian is in her younger years the courtesan and when the loss of her youthful charms disqualifies her for that profession, the go-between by inclination and natural disposition; male or female they cater to pleasure-seeking Rome as mimes, jugglers, musicians and dancers. In the comedies of Plautus and Terence they are the clever but rascally slaves exploiting the foibles of their masters. Juvenal and Petronius testify to their insinuating methods, their

² *Il Convito*, IV, 5; *La Vita Nuova*, XXX.

³ *Trionfo della Fama*, I, 76.

⁴ XAVIER RAYMOND, *La Syrie et la Question d'Orient*, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, September 15 & October 1, 1860.

⁵ "The military history of Syria may be pictured as the procession of nearly all the world's conquerors: Thothmes, Tiglath-Pileser, Sargon, Sennacherib and Nebuchadrezzar; Cambyses and Alexander; Pompey, Caesar, Augustus, Titus and Hadrian; Omar and Saladin; Tamerlane; Napoleon. And now again she is one of the fronts on which two ideals of civilisation and empire oppose their arms, but with issues more momentous for humanity than were ever fought on these same fields between Semite and Greek, Rome and the East, or Frank and Saracen." Sir GEORGE ADAM SMITH, *Syria and the Holy Land*, p. 7.

⁶ *De Provinciis Consularibus Oratio*.

vileness and depravity. When "the Orontes mingled its waters with those of the Tiber," the delicious fruit from the orchards on its banks together with the famous prunes of Damascus and the Syrian pear, extolled by Vergil,⁷ appeared on tables manufactured from cedar of the Lebanon, to give higher relish to the sumptuous repasts of Roman gourmets, groomed by their Syrian valets, who used to scent them and oil their carefully arranged locks with Syrian perfumes and Syrian nard.⁸ Less effeminate and thoroughly practical in the government of their outlying provinces, the Romans tried to obliterate in Syria, as in Asia Minor, the racial differences which threatened trouble. Religious differences they found there harder to suppress than any other and more in particular Phoenicia, that region abounding in grace and beauty according to one of their historians,⁹ was the scene, then and later, of disgraceful disturbances occasioned by the clash of new creeds with heathen superstition. Both Christians and Moslems laid violent hands on what they esteemed idols and shrines of corruption for idolatric homage to false gods, demolishing magnificent temples, breaking glorious images, defacing noble works of art.¹⁰ The godliest men, saints of iconoclastic celebrity, were in the front ranks of the dilapidators.¹¹

Rapidly overrun by the Arabs, who considered its conquest of higher importance than any yet made,¹² Syria became with Asia Minor a vast battlefield for the Khalifs and the Byzantine Emperors to measure their strength in, the country's conversion to Islām redounding meanwhile to its spiritual and material advantage.¹³ Even after the

⁷ *Georgica*, II, 90.

⁸ HORACE, *Oda* II, 7, 7; TIBULLUS, III, 4, 28; 7, 31/2; PROPERTIUS, I, 2, 3.

⁹ "....ac clinis Libano monti Phoenice, regio plena gratiarum et venustatir" AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *Res Gestae*, XIV, 8.

¹⁰ RENAN, *op. cit.*, Conclusions: "Le christianisme, qui se montra en Grèce si peu dévastateur, fut dans le Liban éminemment démolisseur. L'islamisme ne le fut pas moins, surtout pour les sculptures. La race du Liban, soit chrétienne, soit musulmane, est, si j'ose le dire, iconoclaste, inintelligente de l'art; elle a nul sens de l'image plastique; son premier mouvement est de la briser ou de la cacher."

¹¹ Cf THEODORET, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V, 21, and C. FLEURY, *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, IV, 18.

¹² M. J. DE GOEJE, *Mémoire de la Conquête de la Syrie*, quotes from a letter, written, according to a tradition, by the Khalif Abū Bakr to Khalid, commanding him to hasten with 3000 horse to the assistance of 'Amr: "....par Dieu, un village pris en Syrie m'est plus cher qu'un grand district dans l'Irac."

¹³ Never independent except during short spells between two invasions, Syria enjoyed her period of greatest prosperity and splendor under 'Umayyad rule with Damascus as the

removal of the khalifate from Damascus to Baghdad it remained the pivot of the struggle that shook the Near East at the advent first of the Seljuqs and then of the crusaders intent on chasing the paynim out of the Holy Places. In that convulsive collision between two great religions, we find again race-hatred and religious animosity playing havoc with the solidarity of the forces gathered in the hostile camps: the Muhammadan Arabs had brought to Syria the party spirit which divided the Qaysites and the Yamanites, and kept on running as a red thread through all Syrian troubles up to the calamitous events of 1860 in the Lebanon; the Christians were so hopelessly at odds among themselves that those of the Greek Church joined the cutlass crew of Mahound against the crusaders rather than unite in one effort with those of the Latin Church to fight the common enemy. And the Orthodox Greeks continued to be staunch supporters, at any rate obedient subjects of their Moslim rulers until Russia, admitted among the Great Powers, made them realise that as faithful Christians they might renounce that allegiance without prejudice to their inveterate detestation of the Latins.

These found France more than willing to act or pose as their natural protector. While Catholic Europe resounded with the cry formulated, a century and a half later, by the barefoot friar Ulrich Megerle, better known as Abraham a Santa Clara: "Auff, auff ihr Christen! der Türkische Sabel ist vor der Thür!"¹¹ and Martin Luther's apostrophe to the Turks and the Pope in one breath,¹² edified the Protestants, it occurred to Francis I of the house of Valois, putting personal and state interest above religion, to aim a blow at the house of Habsburg and especially at his formidable rival Charles V by entering

capital of the khalifate. Syrians became the "transmitters of Greek learning to the West, whence it was brought back by the Arabs to the West." E. G. BROWN, *A Literary History of the East*, p. C. RROCKELMANN, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, I, 201 ff., and U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLendorf, *Byzanz und Orient: Internationale Monatsheft für Byzantinistik*, Kiel and Freiburg, May 1, 1913: "Es ist wunderbar, wie in dem Orient, das sich dem Islam ergab, die griechische Wissenschaft sehr viel stärker und fruchtbar geblieben ist als in der christlichen Welt weiter, wie die arabische Medien sogar Perserdrücke über die griechische rückte, die Antike zurück."

¹¹ Cf. the good friar's *Prophétie d'Antichrist et de l'antéchrist* before under the *Abraham* heading etc. Vienna 1688.

¹² "Vom König unseres Christen" — so heißtte unter heiter Herr Jesus Christus und seinem Heiligen Geiste wird uns der Heilige Geist und sein heiliger Geist und Werke der Heiligen seines Christus Predigen und Predigen."

into friendly relations with the Porte. The capitulation of 1535 may be considered the foundation of French claims to a protectorate over the Christians in the Levant. The actual relations between them, more in particular the Maronites, and the French date however from three centuries earlier. When St Louis landed at Limisso in September, 1248, he found in the island of Cyprus a Maronite colony notable for its loyalty to the kings of the house of Lusignan. It numbered about 190,000, many of whom took service with him, "armés de foi au dedans et de fer au dehors,"¹⁶ to fight the Saracens as their co-religionists of the Lebanon had done from the beginning of the crusades on, indeed, already on their own account long before in 1099 the first scouting band of Godfrey of Bouillon's army drew near their mountain home. St Louis anticipated Francis I in promising the Maronites his protection, as they deserved from his gratitude, "comme aux François eux-mêmes, et de faire constamment ce qui [serait] nécessaire pour [leur] bonheur."¹⁷ In the subsequent correspondence between the kings of France and the lords spiritual and temporal of the Maronites we find letters from and to Henri IV, Louis XIV,¹⁸ Louis XV and Louis-Philippe. Christians of other denominations neither derived much benefit from, nor cared much for the French protectorate; de facto it applied only to the Maronites.¹⁹

The idea that the Christians needed any special protection against the Turks lay at the bottom of all those claims, for political rather than sentimental reasons, and persisted though, considering the times, they were on the whole very well treated in the realm of the Grand Signior while Spain murdered American Indians in droves, not to speak of her cruel persecution of Moors and Jews, and France herself treated her Protestants to a St Barthélemy. Those amenities between

¹⁶ DE LAMARTINE, *Voyage en Orient*, vol. III (vol. VIII of his *Oeuvres Complètes*, ed. 1863) p. 378.

¹⁷ Letter of May 21, 1250.

¹⁸ Who was the first officially to assume the title of Protector of the Christians in the Levant.

¹⁹ And if we may believe Bishop Tubiyyā, of whom more anon, quoted by URQUHART, *op. cit.*, II, 262, the Maronites, too, had their reasons to look askance at French protection: "France is to us an oppression from which we would be most happy to escape. . . . Here and in the other parts of Syria, in Egypt and in Cyprus, from the middle of the last century to the close of the campaign of Napoleon, we reckon that the blood of 40,000 Maronites has been shed by the Turks or the Greeks. This is the debt we owe to French protection."

good

Christians and Christians bore certainly no less violent a character in a country like Syria where religion, burdened with religious prejudice, had then as now a powerful hold on the people, the Syrian "being always labelled with the tag of the particular faith which he follows,"²⁰ and, we may add, always eager for a fight to prove that his is the right one. To admit the truth, the Turk, instead of oppressing the useful Christians, endeavored to prevent their exterminating one another at the command of their variously frocked priests. Grouped according to sundry orthodoxies and heterodoxies, they were ready to fly at each other's throats on the slightest provocation, a beautiful result of "los progresos que en ella (the province of Syria) ha hecho la religion serafica."²¹ Richard Burton's sardonic smile at an equally maudlin comment on Syrian conditions of a later writer,²² is as much to the point as Burckhardt's observation, made October 6, 1810, regarding the seraphic proceedings of the Christian sects, that there would have been civil war among them if the iron rod of the Turkish government had not repressed their religious fury.²³ When foreign interposition in Turkish affairs began to undermine Turkish authority, the civil war came as a matter of course. Its culminating episode before our war of wars is the subject of Iskander Ibn Ya'qūb'Abkāriūs's narrative which shows clearly how the fanatic intolerance peculiar to the Syrian character and fostered by European jealousy, by political ambitions creating an atmosphere of instability and insecurity, prepared the way for the massacres of 1860.

The Druzes, on good terms with all religions besides their own and averse to proselytism, also, whatever their descent may be, markedly different in race characteristics from the other inhabitants of the Lebanon, have been known of yore as friends of the Christians,²⁴ to whom, regardless of shades and nuances of creed, they extended their welcome and accorded facilities for settlement, for the building of churches and monasteries.²⁵ Foreign intrigue was necessary to

²⁰ F. J. BLISS, *The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine*.

²¹ I. DE CALAHORRA, *Chronica de la Provincia de Syria y Tierra Santa de Gerusalen. Contiene los Progresos, etc.*

²² RENAN, expatiating on "la merveilleuse harmonie de l'idéal évangélique avec le paysage qui lui sert de cadre," See BURTON'S *Unexplored Syria*, I, 6.

²³ *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*.

²⁴ Cf R. POCOCKE, *A Description of the East*, II, *passim*.

²⁵ Cf C. F. VOLNEY, *Voyage en Égypte et en Syrie*, II, 79.

disturb their relations with the Maronites to the breaking point, says a recent writer.²⁶ Foreign intrigue, namely, that sought to profit by abetting Maronite pretensions, by stimulating the arrogance of the Maronite clergy who, rather than the Maronite aristocracy, became under consular pressure and instigated by secret agents, the deadly enemies of the Druzes. The attitude of the latter remained conciliatory until they were goaded to resistance for the sake of self-preservation and in the light of their past friendliness their offer of peace, which led to the convention²⁷ signed after European intervention had been decided upon, did not deserve the ridicule and contempt showered upon it as a hypocritical move to ward off consequences. The attitude of the former can be gauged by an American missionary's statement which, though it refers primarily to a posterior phase of the "religious fury" in the Lebanon, is inserted here for the sake of the proper sequence of these introductory remarks: ". the Druzes sought for an amicable settlement of all their difficulties before the rupture, but all their applications and wishes were unavailing. Nor am I aware of any plan or wish of the Christians to allow them to remain in their own country for the future. They must retire of their own accord or they must fight. War to them was an inexorable necessity. The idea of an exterminating war came exclusively from the Christian side, however un-Christian it was. It is contrary to the religion of the Druzes to contemplate, much more to attempt the extermination of any religious sect of any distinct race, in as much as such an aim or purpose is opposed, in their view, to the will and predestination of God, who has ordained at once the unchanging existence and fixed numbers of all sects and races of men upon the earth."²⁸

Practically left alone by the Turkish government, under the rule of Princes first of the Ma'n then of the Shihāb family,²⁹ some of whom,

²⁶ R. RISTELHUEBER, *Les Maronites, Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 1, 1915.

²⁷ See APPENDIX, I.

²⁸ Cf the London *Times* of November 1, 1860.

²⁹ The ruling house of Ma'n, which originated in North Arabia and claimed descent from 'Ayyūb, an adventurous knight-errant of the Banū Raby'a, became extinct in 1897 on the death of Ahmad whose only son Malham had died in 1879. To prevent an inter-tribal war for his succession, Ahmad, prevailing upon the other chiefs, secured it for his grandson Haydar Shihāb, son of Musa Shihāb and one of his daughters, during whose minority a Bashir Shihāb exercised authority in the Mount, his family moving from Hāsbayyā to Dayr al-Qamar. When this Bashir Shihāb succumbed in 1708 at Acre to the effects of poison, Haydar took personal charge of the government and, a few years later,

as the famous Fakhr ad-Din and Bashir, were born leaders of men, the Lebanon enjoyed comparative tranquility, anyway freedom from too pronounced self-assertion in mutually contentious Christian communities. The Amir Bashir Shihab played a skillful game between the English, traditional friends of the Druzes to counterbalance French influence on the Maronites, and Buonaparte when, trying to realise Leibniz's modified plan, that ambitious young general marched into Syria to be checked at Acre by Sir Sidney Smith. Bashir was still the commanding spirit of the Mount, coqueting with Mahmud II or Muhammad 'Aly as the wind of Turco-Egyptian relations blew, when Ibrahim Pasha wrested Syria from the Porte for the latter, his father and the Sultan's vassal. Almost ten years elapsed before the great European Powers of the day, only France holding back, could decide on action in behalf of the Sultan and compassed the evacuation of Syria by Ibrahim Pasha's troops. Therewith the Amir Bashir's rule ended; a British man-of-war conveyed him in exile to Malta, whence he moved to Constantinople, closing his long and eventful career, in 1850, with a natural death, more fortunate in that respect than his even better known predecessor Fakhr ad-Din of the Ma'nies who, in 1635, had been executed at Constantinople with two of his sons. Another scion of the Shihab family, Bashir Qasim, put in the banished Amir's place, proved altogether unequal to the task of preserving order among the discordant elements of which the population of Mount Lebanon was composed and with his deposition the local dynasty ceased to exist.³⁰

Bashir Qasim's lack of tact and general unfitness precipitated a fiasco which, sooner or later, would have faced any one in his situation. For Ibrahim Pasha's iron discipline and inexorable justice the Turks had to substitute laxer methods, forced thereunto by European interference which threatened a repetition of the Greek follies of the Roman period Mommsen speaks of,³¹ in an infinitely more injurious

defeated at the head of the Qaysites, the disaffected Yamanites in the great battle of 'Ayn Darah, 1711, which consolidated his power. Cf M. VON OPPENHEIM. *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, I, 148 ff.

³⁰ The Shihabis, whose house originated in the Hejaz and who claimed descent from Khalid Ibn al-Walid, sank low from their high estate in consequence of the decline of feudal institutions in Mount Lebanon. Some of them are so impoverished, says Dr BLISS, *op. cit.*, that they have become drivers.

³¹ "Griechische Dummheiten," *Römische Geschichte*, V, 364.

form incidental to international ineptitude. The ensuing chaotic state of affairs in the country led to the disturbances of 1840, continued in 1841, 1842 and 1845. The Porte sought to remove their causes by a change in the administration, appointing functionaries of its civil service, strange to the land and frequently transferred, to positions of trust whose tenure the native aristocracy considered part of their unalienable privileges. Bashīr Qāsim having made himself impossible, direct Turkish rule was introduced in the person of 'Umar Pasha,²² who had to contend, in addition to the evil consequences of his predecessor's maladministration, with the animosities resulting from the gradual breaking up of the feudal system which had been a potent factor in the former solidarity of the Mount's interests: class- and race-hatred combined with religious rancor made for disruption. 'Umar Pasha proved to be an excellent governor but the European Powers took exception at the alleged violation of Turkish obligations by his appointment and France in particular, asserting herself after the slight she had received by the expulsion of Muhammad'Aly's son and vice-gerent from Syria without her co-operation, demanded for the benefit of her clients, the Maronites, that again a member of the Shihāb family should be elected. Instead of this the representatives of the five Great Powers, who met in conference at Constantinople, May 27, 1842, resolved to adopt a scheme of divided government for the Lebanon, which had been outlined by Prince Metternich.

The Mount was cut up in two districts respectively confided, with due regard to the religious convictions of the majority of the people inhabiting each of them, to the care of a Christian and a Druze qā'yamaqām or governor, chosen from among the natives, the Shihābies being excluded. This dual system, altered in 1845 with a view to emendation of its most glaring defects, failed, however, to achieve even a moderate success. Notwithstanding the many regulations and arrangements for its smooth operation in villages with a mixed population of Christians and Druzes, several Christian communities, Dayr al-Qamar for instance, preferred direct Turkish rule to the blessings of such an organisation which, though "provisional," remained in force until the catastrophe of 1860 it helped to bring about.

²² Michael Lettes, a Croat by birth, who commenced his career as a teacher of Sultan 'Abd'al-Majid and rose to high civil and military dignity; his name is connected with several brilliant exploits in the Balkans, in the Crimea and wherever he held a command.

Dividing Druzes and Maronites ever more, it gave full scope to plotting and counter-plotting, to the "sinuosities of Christian intrigue" Lord Dufferin and Claneboye attempted to trace³³ as a member of the International Commission appointed to examine the facts of the massacres and the circumstances which gave rise to them. The Maronites were the worst offenders, followed as good seconds among the other Christian communities, by the Orthodox Greeks³⁴ who had their full share in raising the wind that was to grow into such a frightful storm. The complaint of the Druzes that ever since the year 1841 the Maronites had "pertinaciously contemplated the uprooting of the Druzes from the Druze Mountain [Mounts Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon] and the establishment of their own independence therein, being puffed up with the idea of their great numbers and wealth, and being also led to pride by the representations of certain interested persons,"³⁵ was founded on incontrovertible facts. The heads of the Maronites were turned by the protestations of Popes who called them their "faithful servants," their "dearest sons";³⁶ by speeches in the Chambre des Députés like that of Crémieux, August 3, 1847,³⁷ which created hopes of assistance when the hour should strike for delivering the blow they had in mind, and—who could know!—might confound the Turks together with the Druzes. Their clergy encouraged them in those wild expectations to the point of making them cry "Our Patriarch is our Sultan!" when the Turkish government interfered as it had a perfect right to do.³⁸

The consular reports of the years preceding 1860 bear witness to the disorganising effects of the organisation introduced under European compulsion. Our author gives some particulars concerning the trouble brewing in both the Southern or Druze and the Northern or Maronite

³³ Letter of November 15, 1860, to Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, British Ambassador to the Porte.

³⁴ See the episcopal letter from the "humble Sophronius," Orthodox Greek Bishop of Tyre and Sidon, to his "glorious children" of Rāshayyā, APPENDIX, II.

³⁵ Druze Account of the Late Events in the Lebanon, presented to Queen Victoria with a Petition, dated August 17, 1860, and signed by Hamdan Bellini in the name of the gentry and commonalty of the Druze Nation of Mount Lebanon.

³⁶ RISTELHUEBER, *op. cit.*

³⁷ "Les Chrétiens du Liban, mais ils sont nos frères depuis des siècles, non pas seulement nos frères en religion, mais nos frères à la guerre, nos frères sur les champs de bataille. Dans toutes les circonstances vous les avez trouvés; Saint Louis les a trouvés; Napoléon les a trouvés."

³⁸ BLISS, *op. cit.*, V.

section of the Lebanon; he tells us of the armed conflicts in and around the Shūf,³⁹ of the insurrection of the peasants of the district of Kasruān,⁴⁰ who rose against their nobility, the sheikhs of the Christian house of Khāzin, that ground them to powder in the feudal mill. Nor was it in Syria alone that political discontent, overexcited by religious frenzy, led to acts of insensate retaliation. On July 15, 1858, a native mob at Jeddah fell upon the Christians in their midst; among their victims were the French consul and British vice-consul. Vengeance followed swiftly: eleven days later the town was bombarded by an Anglo-French squadron and on August 4 ten of the ringleaders were hanged. If anything, this incident increased the fanatic zeal of the Christians, more in particular of the Maronites of Mount Lebanon, who relied upon help from their European friends and had been supplied by them with the necessary funds to carry out their design, in the first place to buy firearms and ammunition,⁴¹ the money received to relieve the sufferers from the conflict which may be termed the first civil war, being misused for the promotion of a second.⁴² "The Druzes did not want to fight; the Maronites thought their hour of victory was come. Custom-house returns can prove that upwards of 120.000 stand of arms and 20.000 pistols were imported into the Lebanon between January 1857 and the spring of 1860, while the sinister influence exercised by Bishop Tobia and his associates was so universally recognised that his withdrawal from Beyrouth was insisted upon as a necessary preliminary to peace."⁴³ The Druzes, numerically far in the minority,⁴⁴ who had moreover sustained severe losses some

³⁹ The name of this district, whose mountain peaks provide excellent posts of observation sedulously put to account by its turbulent inhabitants, has been derived according to some, from an Arabic root which expresses the idea of overtopping, looking down upon.

⁴⁰ A stronghold of Christianity in the Mount.

⁴¹ C. H. CHURCHILL, *The Druzes and the Maronites under the Turkish Rule from 1840 to 1860*, p. 40.

⁴² JESSUP, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

⁴³ Despatch of December 19, 1860, from Lord Dufferin to Lord Russell, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. "Sinister influence" was not too strong an expression as proved by the Maronite prelate's conduct from beginning to end, and his arrogance is well illustrated by his words to an inhabitant of Dayr al-Qamar, quoted in a letter from a certain Halib Akawy to Sa'yd Bey Janblat (*Official Correspondence*, Nr 373): "If you, people of Deir el-Kamar do not obey and refuse to go to war, then I will cause the Druzes and Christians together to attack you."

⁴⁴ The number of Druzes and Maronites has been variously estimated, but all agree that the latter outnumbered the former by about two to one. A *Table of the Statistics*

years earlier while resisting first Egyptian then Turkish attempts to coerce them in the matter of conscription,⁴⁵ needed, indeed, great provocation to show fight. But when attacked, their superiority in military tactics and discipline soon allowed them to abandon the defensive for the offensive, however sure they were that, for the reason just named, they had no help to expect from the regular troops of the Ottoman army, detached for the maintenance of order in Syria.

It would be anticipating our author's narrative to tell here how the situation became more and more critical; how, after isolated acts of violence and casual encounters, a Maronite champion, Tānyūs Ibn Shāhīn al-Baytār, one of the ringleaders in the rebellion which overthrew the oligarchic government of the district of Kasruān, began hostilities in dead earnest with a band of three hundred men;⁴⁶ how by their unity of purpose and better generalship the Druzes turned the tables on their aggressors and, goaded to madness, took revenge in a terrible manner; how, to all appearance, von Moltke's statement of 1841 became true: "Die Türkei ist nicht im Stande die Syrer durch eine kräftige Regierung wie der Militär Despotismus Ibrahims war, in gehorsam zu erhalten...."⁴⁷ But a short commentary may be allowed: Turkey was sadly handicapped. With regard to the Maronites, "filled with ideas of conquest and French protection."⁴⁸ the Porte had to take into account the general international situation; with regard to the Druzes, when these showed a winning hand, the temper of the troops could not be ignored. The regulars of the fifth army-corps immediately concerned, not to speak of the irregulars, were chiefly Syrian recruits, Moslemin who knew the Christians and had old scores to settle with them. But even if they could have been

of Mount Lebanon, sent on January 12, 1861, by Mr E. I. Rogers, British vice-consul at Bayrūt, to Lord Dufferin, gives 102.105 Maronites and 56.035 Druzes capable of carrying arms, besides 40.125 Greek Catholics, 30.375 Orthodox Greeks, 28.935 Moslemin, including the Mutāwales, and 465 Jews.

⁴⁵ Cf H. PETERMANN, *Reisen im Orient*, I, 77 ff.

⁴⁶ "Une bande armée de Chrétiens était venue la première passer de la Caimacamie chrétienne dans celle des Druzes. Ce fut le début de cette guerre civile qui a fini par tant de calamités." Note of Fu'ad Pasha joined to the protocol of the twenty-second meeting of the International Commission held at Bayrūt, February 27, 1861.

⁴⁷ *Deutschland und Palstina*, first of five articles written for the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* and published in book form under the title *Zur orientalischen Frage*. Cf VON MOLTKE'S *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei*.

⁴⁸ Letter of Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, British Ambassador to the Porte, to Consul-General N. Moore at Bayrūt, *Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Syria*, 1860-1861, p. 65.

relied upon the Rumelian crisis had made it necessary to draw largely on the disposable battalions, reducing their strength to such an extent that it did not seem wise to attempt a forcible repression of the Druzes in the flush of their victories: a defeat might have led to a general insurrection very difficult to quell. There existed furthermore open hostility between the highest civil and military dignitaries in the land. Khürshid Pasha at Bayrūt, Governor-General of the province of Ṣaydā, and Ahmād Pasha, Governor-General of the province of Syria proper and commander-in-chief of the troops in 'Arabistān,⁴⁹ were on bad terms, which explains the reluctance shown by Tāhir Pasha,⁵⁰ military commander in the former's territory, to carry out his orders, the officers of lower rank following suit. Khürshid Pasha cannot be held responsible for the delinquency of the soldiery charged to him in our author's version of the "marvels of the time concerning the massacres in the Arab country:" that fault lay with Ahmād Pasha who, despite the extenuating circumstances referred to, which, however, hardly applied to his dereliction of duty in the case of Damascus, paid the extreme penalty after degradation from his high military rank and civil dignity.

Nor was Khürshid Pasha the fiendish schemer we are invited to believe him to be because he did not like the Syrian Christians—for obvious reasons!—and entered into negotiations with the Druzes. His meetings and discussions with the latter, rather of a conciliatory than of an inflammatory character, might have made for peace if, heeding his urgent request, the representatives of the Powers to whom he appealed, had aided him in his efforts to bridle the unchained passions. When he was arraigned before the tribunal instituted to try the officials accused of negligence and misconduct, the prosecution failed to substantiate the charges preferred against him of premeditated instigation to the horrible crimes committed in his pashalic.⁵¹ Reliable evidence pointed the other way, furnishing proof that, addressing the

⁴⁹ The Arab Country, here used in its Turkish military sense as a collective name for the provinces of the Ottoman Empire inhabited by people of Arabian descent or speech.

⁵⁰ Tāhir Pasha had received his military education at Woolwich and was considered one of the most brilliant officers in the Turkish army.

⁵¹ "Quant aux fonctionnaires et officiers Ottomans. . . .ils ont, et cela est vrai surtout de Kourchid Pacha, fait appel à tous les moyens qu'ils avaient à leur disposition pour prévenir la guerre civile." Statement of Mr P. von Weckbecker, Consul-General of Austria at Bayrūt, speaking of the result of the judicial inquiry by the tribunal referred to, in the twenty-second meeting of the International Commission, held February 27, 1861.

European consuls at Bayrūt, he had said:⁵² "Je n'ai d'influence que sur les Druses et les Musulmans; vous en avez sur les Chrétiens; retenez les uns, je retiendrai les autres." The brilliant idea of the consuls to engage Bishop Tūbiyā as a missionary likely to pour oil on the troubled waters, had simply the effect that both Muhammadans and Druzes became confirmed in their suspicions of a conspiracy formed by the Christians, in particular the Maronite clergy, backed by interested European governments, to despoil them of their land and goods. They were perfectly aware of the real worth of *soi-disant* disinterested European interference in the cause of humanity, civilisation and so forth. Experience of foreign activity through the regular consular channels and officially disavowed secret agencies,⁵³ enabled them to determine the right value of those fine words. So the violence of the Maronites, recoiling upon themselves, led to a popular movement favorable to the Druzes, which assumed more and more a political character, especially in Damascus⁵⁴ where the Christians had given great offence by availing themselves of their enfranchisement following upon the Treaty of Paris, to insult the Muhammadans in every

⁵² As quoted by Mr von Weckbecker on the occasion referred to in the preceding note. Cf Khurshid Pasha's answer to the Consular Corps at Bayrūt when, after the massacre at Damascus, guarantees were asked for the safety of the first mentioned town, especially for its inhabitants of European extraction: "...under the Imperial auspices and with the assistance of the Most High, the town need be in no fear or apprehension whatever. Only the Government has specially to request that, in a corresponding spirit on your parts, you will be pleased to enjoin positively, upon your countrymen and your employés and protected persons, that in such critical times they will conform their words and actions to its requirements and abstain from any compromising conduct such as insult to or ill-treatment of persons they may have to complain of, which they have no right whatever to do at any time, and avoid uttering alarming and unfounded reports; and, in fact, that you will cause the local government to be thankful and able to carry into effect the measures required under existing circumstances." Nr 27 of *Further Papers relating to the Disturbances in Syria, June 1860*, Inclosure 2.

⁵³ "I am also rather of opinion," writes Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer from Therapia, August 8, 1860, to Consul-General N. Moore at Bayrūt, "that the attitude taken by some foreign agents and the overbearing spirit too much manifested by them had no small share in producing the state of feeling that recently manifested itself in so horrible a manner in one portion of Syria and exists throughout it."

⁵⁴ This conviction is shared by many of the more discriminating authors on the subject, who agree with Mr JOHN BARKER, in his life British Consul-General at Aleppo and Alexandria, that the "massacre of the Christians at Damascus and Mount Lebanon in 1860, was altogether a political outbreak;....." See *Syria and Egypt under the last five Sultans of Turkey*, being a narrative of his experiences in office, compiled from his letters and journals, edited by his son E. B. B. BARKER, I, 43.

possible way, provoking reprisals. And even then it was only the rabble, getting out of hand, that committed the excesses which our author describes, not without due praise to the firmness in opposing them and the kindness in relieving the distress of the surviving victims, shown by 'Abd' al-Qādir,⁵⁵ who was by no means an exception, many of the higher and middle classes of the Muhammadan population taking the same course. This feature of the massacres and their unanimous condemnation by all Moslemin of standing in Syria and throughout the world,⁵⁶ have not received sufficient attention.

The Christians, fallen into their own pit, turned again to the foreign consuls, accusing the Druzes in the face of the strongest proofs to the contrary, of having started the trouble, abetted by the Turkish authorities under orders from Constantinople. There is no foundation whatever for the insinuations regarding Turkish motives which our author repeats. But they found a willing ear in Europe where the traditional belief prevailed that the Sultan resorted to periodical hecatombs to prevent his administration getting out of gear, as an engine-driver oils his locomotive to keep it in running order. Public opinion, wrought upon by letters in newspapers that live by catering to a public taste greedy for sensational stuff, went into hysterics over horrors far beyond the actual happenings and began to clamor for immediate intervention to stop the unspeakable Turk's slaughter of innocent, lamb-like Christians in their ten thousands, once more echoing Abraham a Santa Clara's: "Auff, auff ihr Christen und streittet wider den Mahometanischen Irrthum und Türkischen Erbfeind: Fort mit dem schlimmen Buben....!" At first the European governments did not respond very promptly, realising that things had occurred in Syria which might reopen the Eastern Question to complicate still further the already intricate international situation. To use an expression

⁵⁵ 'Abd'al-Qādir Ibn Muhy ad-Dīn, the famous Algerine chief, defeated by General Lamoricière in the battle of Sidy Brahim, December 21, 1847. Taken captive, he was sent to France and interned successively at Toulouse, Pau and Amboise. At the proclamation of the Second Empire in 1852, Louis Napoleon, just made Napoleon III, gave him back his liberty and he settled in Brussa, to move in 1855, after the earthquake which devastated that city, to Damascus where he lived comfortably on the £s 100,000 a year granted to him by the French Government. After the events of 1860 he came once more to the front in 1871, exhorting his insurgent countrymen to surrender, a piece of advice to which they paid not the slightest attention. He died at Damascus in 1883.

⁵⁶ See APPENDIX, III.

of Gortshakoff, explanatory of his own country's inaction about that time, "c'était reculer pour mieux sauter." All had their irons in the fire but it required some thought and watching of the European equilibrium to decide how best to apply them. The European equilibrium! It was four years after the Congress of Paris which, as the Powers tried to make themselves believe, had settled the direful Eastern Question after its having been deliberately ignored—*et pour cause!*—by the Congress of Vienna. A personal success for Napoleon III, the Congress of Paris and the extraordinary agreement concluded at Zürich, November 10, 1859, had made changes in the map of Europe which in Britain, Austria and Prussia aroused suspicions regarding French designs that might aim farther than Savoy and Nice. Russia confined herself for the moment to nursing the grievances which originated in her humiliation as a result of the Crimean War. Italy had her struggle for unity, Sardinia, under Cavour's guidance, blazing the path with Tuscany, Modena, Parma, Naples and the Marches of Umbria catching up while Venice, unavoidably delayed, had to stay behind until 1866, Rome until 1870. Italian affairs kept the European Cabinets and diplomatists very busy, superlatively so since Louis Napoleon in addition to a generally aggressive policy, showed no inclination to renounce the benefits expected from the protracted occupation of Rome by French troops and Garibaldi's feats with his Marsala Thousand often embarrassed his friends scarcely less than his enemies. There was, moreover, the Anglo-French campaign in China, an adjustment by force of differences of opinion concerning the application of the Treaty of 1858 which closed the Arrow business, the commanders of the respective contingents to the expedition being no doubt greatly astonished at taking part, side by side, as allies, in one military enterprise decided upon by their governments that indulged in continuous wrangling at home.

Considered as an item of political import, apart from their inherent atrocity, the massacres in the Lebanon could hardly be welcome at a moment when the international market was already glutted with lightly inflammable material. It seemed more than awkward indeed that the Eastern Question refused to be relegated to the background while so many other questions asked for a solution. But every one did what he could to make the best of this new factor in the political

game without falling foul of the principle that the integrity of Turkey in Europe had to be maintained—as long as the problem of her partition presented unconquerable difficulties by reason of jealousies too easily excited. Lord Palmerston, faithful to the tradition formulated by William Pitt the younger, said on May 25, 1839, to M. de Bourqueney: “The least harmful guarantee of the European equilibrium is the conservation of the Ottoman Empire,” though he declared towards the end of his career: “We shall not draw the sword for a corpse a second time.”⁵⁷ Napoleon wrote from St Cloud, July 29, 1860, to the Count de Persigny, French Ambassador to the Court of St James, in a letter evidently meant for the public at large:⁵⁸ “Quand Lavalette⁵⁹ est parti pour Constantinople, les instructions que je lui ai données se bornaient à ceci: Faites tous vos efforts pour maintenir le status quo; l'intérêt de la France est que la Turquie vive le plus longtemps possible.” The Padishah though, knew perfectly well what to expect from this solicitude for the integrity of his realm and on the slightest occasion ostentatiously offered assistance to preserve it, since he, in the words of von Moltke, “aus jeder Hülffleistung . . . schwächer hervor [ging] als er in der Noth gewesen war welche den Beistand veranlaszt hatte.”⁶⁰ But, adroitly weathering every diplomatic tempest, he hoped for sunshine after storm and stress, and meanwhile introduced reforms in the internal administration of his domains, which tended to obviate future pretexts for intervention, making believe that the laws so promulgated owed their existence to interests of state and not to outside interference.⁶¹

“Making believe” is perhaps too harsh a word. Nor seems it quite correct to say with Count Nesselrode that the innovations of

⁵⁷ H. VON TREITSCHKE, *Germany, France, Russia and Islam* (English translation, 1915). Cf the Count D'AUGEVILLE, *La Vérité Sur la Question d'Orient et M Thiers*, 1841, and of Lord Palmerston's speeches especially those held in the House of Commons on July 11, 1833, and on February 20, 1854.

⁵⁸ And accordingly extensively published; in the London *Times*, for instance, first, August 1, 1860, in an English translation, the next day in the French original.

⁵⁹ Napoleon's newly appointed Ambassador to the Porte.

⁶⁰ *Op. cit.*, *Militär-politische Lage des osmanischen Reichs*.

⁶¹ Reversing the dissimulation which caused a Padishah of earlier days, Murād III, to disregard the wishes of Pope Gregory XIII, “sapendo [il Signor Turco] . . . benissimo che le leghe si fanno per interessi di stato e non per parole d'altri,” as recorded by Giacomo Sorenzo. See *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti*, ed. E. ALBERI, II, 202.

Mahmūd II,⁶² developed by 'Abd'al-Majīd,⁶³ were "shattering the ancient power of the State without setting a new one in its place."⁶⁴ After all, both father and son meant well when conferring upon their subjects liberal institutions à l'instar of those the western rulers were compelled to consent to by the progressive movement of 1848, but for which Turkey was still less ripe than the rest of Europe. Altered for acclimatisation on Turkish soil in the guise of Mahmūd's Tanzīmat or reform, which blossomed out in the Hatty Sharīf, pro-

⁶² Mahmūd II, son of 'Abd'al-Hamid I, who died April 7, 1789, was proclaimed Sultan on the 28th of January, 1808, after the violent death of Salm III and the imprisonment of his brother Muṣṭafa. Mahmūd's mother was a creole from Martinique, cousin of Joséphine Tascher de la Pagerie who, as the widow of Alexandre de Beauharnais, married General Buonaparte and became Empress of the French to be divorced in 1809. Mlle du Lac de Rivery, returning home from school at Nantes, had been captured at sea by Barbary pirates and sold to the Dey of Algiers who made a present of her to his overlord at Constantinople. At first disconsolate, the fair captive was conciled to her fate by means of a piano, hastily ordered from Paris to allay her anger and indignation. Thanks more to her beauty than to her musical talent, she remained for quite a while the Padishah's favorite. Cf BARKER, *op. cit.*, I, 11. Mahmūd II died June 30, 1839, after an eventful reign in which he tried hard "to renovate the Ottoman Empire and to bring it into friendly communion with the Powers of Christendom." Letter of August 9, 1832, from Stratford Canning, then on a special mission to the Porte, to Lord Palmerston. See S. L. POOLE, *Life of the Right Hon'ble Stratford Canning, Viscount de Redcliffe*, I, 513.

⁶³ 'Abd'al-Majīd, Mahmūd's eldest son, seventeen years old when he succeeded to Sultanate and Khalifate, was called the "Christian Sultan" because of his inclination to favor his Christian subjects. "One day, his Minister Rashīd Pasha asked to be admitted to his presence but was told he must wait until his Majesty had finished the chapter of the Bible he was reading." BARKER, *op. cit.*, I, 13. "He possessed, wrote Canning in later years, a kindly disposition, a sound understanding, a clear sense of duty, proper feelings of dignity without pride and a degree of humanity seldom, if ever, exhibited by the best of his ancestors. The full development of these qualities found a check in the want of vigour which dated from his birth and which his early accession to the throne and consequent indulgence in youthful passions seemed to increase. The bent of his mind inclined him to reform conducted on mild and liberal principles. He had not energy enough to originate measures of that kind, but he was glad to sanction and promote their operation." POOLE, *op. cit.*, II, 81. This estimate agrees on the whole with that of A. DE LA JONQUIÈRE, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, p. 526, who calls him "le digne héritier des grandes idées de son père, [qui] avait vaillamment marché en avant." DE LAMARTINE, describing his personal appearance, says: "ses traits sont réguliers et doux, son front élevé, ses yeux bleus, ses sourcils arqués comme dans les races caucasiennes, son nez droit sans roideur, ses lèvres relevées et entr'ouvertes, son menton, cette base de caractère dans la figure humaine, ferme et bien attaché: l'ensemble noble, fier, mais adouci par le sentiment d'une supériorité calme, qui a plus le désir d'être aimé que d'être imposant;" *Nouveau Voyage en Orient*, p. 63.

⁶⁴ VON TREITSCHKE, *op. cit.*

claimed at the Gulkhanah on November 3, 1839, three months after 'Abd'al-Majid's accession to the throne, it carried, however, the germ of notable improvements in the assurances it gave to all inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire, without distinction of creed, that they would be protected in life, honor and property; that the taxes would be equitably assessed and levied; that fixed rules would be observed in drafting recruits for the army. The councils or governmental departments of the Ottoman Empire, the civil service and financial administration, the judiciary and the "offices or functions of the sword" were the principal subjects of further regulations while the Hatty Humayün of February 18, 1856, developed in twenty paragraphs the previous dispositions on an ever more comprehensive basis.⁶⁶

If some in Britain associated themselves with Lord Palmerston's view and reasoned that after waging the Crimean War to save Turkey from the grasp of Russia, nothing could be better than to encourage a transformation of the Turkish government which would draw it nearer and nearer to the British bosom, others condemned the Crimean War as a big mistake, inclining to the views of Bright and Cobden, firmly convinced that "it would have been far better to have allowed Russia to go in and win, for the Turk [was] a hopelessly irreclaimable ruffian, who should be improved off the face of the earth as soon as may be."⁶⁷ They played into the hands of Napoleon who, notwithstanding the sentiments aired in his open letter to the Count de Persigny, wished to regain by some impressive move the clerical support he had lost by certain aspects of his Italian ventures. And there was also the French protectorate over the Christians, more correctly speaking the Roman Catholic Christians, in the Levant. True, it did not amount to much in reality,⁶⁸ but it was an excellent point of

⁶⁶ Cf E. ENGELHARDT, *La Turquie et le Tanzimat*, and M. A. UBICINI, *Lettres sur la Turquie*.

⁶⁷ Cf the Member of the British Parliament M. E. GRANT DUFF's lecture on the *Eastern Question*, delivered at Inverurie, November 14, 1876. Another fine paraphrase of the opinion of Zebedaeus in FRANCIS BACON's *Dialogus de Bello Sacro*: ". . . bellum contra Turcam justum esse, tam jure naturali, quam jure gentium," was furnished by G. J. D. CAMPBELL, eighth Duke of Argyll, speaking in the City Hall of Glasgow, September 19, 1876: "Well then, my Lord Provost, I begin with this proposition, that the Turkish Government is so bad, so execrably bad, that every rebellion against it on the part of its Christian subjects is presumably just and righteous."

⁶⁸ Le mot était très pompeux mais la chose était très petite." XAVIER RAYMOND, *op. cit.*

departure for demands that might lead to acts pregnant with glory and aggrandizement, apt to foil the Russians who tightened their hold on the Near East by their protectorate over the Orthodox Greeks;⁶⁸ the Austrians who claimed a protectorate over the Roman Catholics of Turkey in Europe;⁶⁹ the Italians who, refusing to acknowledge the Pope's temporal power, clung with the more tenacity to their rights as champions of the temporal interests of the Mother Church domiciled in their midst; finally the English who were accused of using the Protestant missionaries as a lever for the furtherance of their sinister designs.⁷⁰ In Syria not only the Protestant missionaries and their converts. The Druzes too: an additional reason for the French to exploit Maronite allegiance⁷¹ to its utmost capacity. So the Lebanon became for England and France what Sicily had been for

⁶⁸ Assumed on the strength of the Treaty of Kutshuk Kaynarjy, July 10, 1774, which gave substance to claims of much older date.

⁶⁹ By virtue of which alleged protectorate the Emperor Francis Joseph had, e. g., sent the Prince von Leiningen to Constantinople on a mission in the interest of the Roman Catholic Albanians.

⁷⁰ Speaking of the disturbances of 1840 and the next two years in Mount Lebanon, M. David, taking perfidious Albion to task in the Chambre des Députés, asked, January 30, 1843, answering himself: "Où donc était la cause de cette guerre civile, si contraire à la sûreté commune des deux populations? On a soupçonné l'Angleterre d'avoir favorisé les missionnaires soi-disant américains, dans un intérêt purement politique." The English view had already found official expression in a despatch to Lord Palmerston from the Viscount Ponsonby, British Ambassador at Constantinople, who wrote under the date of June 8, 1841, "that the French agents [in Syria] were] numerous and extremely active; that the object of the French [seemed] to be to aid in placing Syria in a situation which [should] make good the French declared opinion, that the Porte never would be able to govern Syria; that the Pashas and other Ottoman authorities were acting in many things with immeasurable folly and great corruption." Five weeks later Viscount Ponsonby had a letter communicated to him, sent by Baron von Münster, Austrian Internuncio at Constantinople, to Prince Metternich, which was grist to his mill since it confirmed his statements. Forwarded to London, it appeared as Nr 14 in the *Correspondence with Her Majesty's Embassy at Constantinople respecting the Affairs of Syria*, p. 31. Speaking of Syria, Baron von Münster said: "Cet état de choses devient plus grave par les menées des agens français déjà mentionnés ci-dessus. Il paraît qu'ils emploient tous leurs moyens pour paralyser l'influence anglaise. Leurs missionnaires sont rapprochés des Maronites et crient avec ceux-ci contre les Protestans."

⁷¹ Seasoned of old with a dash of theatrical display whenever there was an opportunity. In the Maronite churches, for instance, "a place of honour was reserved for the French consul, who was wont to hold his naked sword over the book of the Gospel, in token of his Sovereign's protection." W. MILLER, *The Ottoman Empire, 1801-1913*, p. 152. A certain "Habib Risk Allan Effendy" relates in his narrative of a voyage through Syria to the Lebanon and also to England and France, that in troublous times the Maronite monasteries hoisted the French flag. Dutch translation, p. 233.

Carthage and Rome, and, to elaborate this comparison of Urquhart's,⁷² successively for the Byzantines and the Arabs, the Arabs and the Normans, the houses of Hohenstaufen and Anjou, of Bourbon and Savoy.

When the French Government broached the idea of sending an expeditionary force to Syria to assist the Porte in restoring order which, the Porte declared, was not necessary at all since it intended to despatch for the purpose, as it did, a capable Commissioner with plenary power and a sufficient number of troops, the other governments showed plainly their deep-seated mistrust. The story of the conferences of their representatives at Paris with M. Thouvenel, then French Minister of Foreign Affairs, and with one another, makes edifying reading. So makes the commentary of the newspapers with their well-informed correspondents in *la ville lumière*, who furnished their daily bits of information, derived from the "most reliable" sources, immediately followed by *démentis*; their statements of unimpeachable facts, founded on nothing but rumor; their officially and semi-officially inspired canards. One day France was to go it alone whatever the rest of Europe might say or do; the next day France did not think of such a thing, in fact never had contemplated an expedition. Then again France felt it her sacred duty to avenge the insult to her flag, the burning of her consulates, the pillage of the monasteries under her protection, asseverating withal her intensely pacific intentions, which elicited from the London *Times* an answer in a strain quite familiar to the constant reader of that organ in the years preceding the present war: barring the substitution of Germany for "la grande nation" some phrases and tirades in its articles of 1859 and 1860 are not only in one key and tune but curiously consonant in wording with its rumblings before the storm that broke in 1914.⁷³ Russia, terribly sore at her recent deprivation of the privileged position she had acquired in 1833 by the Treaty of Unkyar Skelessy, tried hard to recover lost ground and manoeuvred to lead the pour-

⁷² *Op. cit.*, I, 112.

⁷³ "Let France disarm and the effect would be immediately felt in the pacific tendencies of every capital in Europe; but so long as she continues her present state of preparation she imposes on her neighbours the absolute necessity of maintaining a corresponding force; . . ." *Times* of August 2, 1860. This sample in proof of the proposition that the same feelings generally seek and find expression in the same words or that leader-writers—and not only those who move in the atmosphere of Blackfriars!—often seek and find inspiration in the work of their predecessors, could easily be multiplied—almost *ad infinitum*.

parlers into the channel of an amelioration of the condition of the Christians in every part of the Ottoman Empire. Austria wanted to send troops as well as France.⁷⁴ The Powers intent, as usual, on making the "cause of humanity" serve designs of an entirely different character,⁷⁵ could not agree. There were suspensions of the negotiations, ruptures, fears of a general conflagration.

The telegraphic report of the crowning massacre at Damascus reminded the wrangling diplomatists of the urgency of the business they were supposed to attend to. It impressed the British Cabinet to the point of assenting to a French expedition on terms still to be arranged. Not with perfect good grace. In his despatch of July 23, 1860, to Earl Cowley, British Ambassador to the Imperial Court at Paris, Lord John Russell said: "It appears to her Majesty's Government that, although the exceptional circumstances justify this expedition, yet, if the news of the next ten days or a fortnight should justify the hope that the massacres are stopped and will not be renewed, the very hazardous attempt of endeavouring to tranquillise the country by foreign troops should not be resorted to. In that case the French troops should not embark or should return at once. It appears also to Her Majesty's Government that a final term should be inserted in the Convention for the evacuation of Syria by foreign troops." On August 3, a notice was posted up at the Paris Bourse, where speculation about the uncertain issue of the negotiations had been rife, announcing the agreement of the Powers on the conditions of European intervention in Syria. If Lord Palmerston, guiding the destinies of

⁷⁴ The marching orders issued to a battalion of Tyrolese Chasseurs destined for Aleppo were, however, countermanded and it stayed at home on receipt in Vienna of the formal assurance from the Porte that Fu'ad Pasha, the Turkish Commissioner in Syria, had guaranteed to pacify the country without foreign aid. Reuter telegram of August 10, 1860. It is not at all unlikely that friendly persuasion from another quarter emphasized the drift of the Turkish assurance.

⁷⁵ Not only the Great Powers but also such lesser ones, considered too insignificant to be admitted to their deliberations, as had an axe to grind, Sardinia for instance, then steering towards union of the Italian States under the auspices of *il re galantuomo* with Count Cavour at the helm. A very characteristic message à propos of the Syrian affair, sent by the latter, August 3, 1860, to the Marquis Tapparelli d'Azeglio, Envoy of his Majesty Victor Emmanuel II to the Court of St. James, complains of Sardinia not having been invited to the discussions regarding the despatch of a French expedition and ascribes that slight to "les efforts constants de l'Autriche pour nous exclure d'accords qui devraient être à l'abri de toute jalouse politique, et auxquels effectivement l'esprit conciliant des autres Puissances a voulu imprimer le caractère d'une généreuse manifestation de la Chrétienté." *Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Syria*, 1860-61, Nr 68.

Britain, had at last consented to a French expedition, it was, as Lord Russell's despatch proves, but unwillingly, "fearing lest there would be much trouble in getting the French out again."⁷⁶ Collective pressure was brought to bear on Turkey to make her submit. The Convention, signed August 3, provided for a body of European troops, whose number might be raised to 12,000, to be sent to Syria for the purpose of assisting the Porte in the re-establishment of peace and order. France was to furnish at once half of the armament agreed upon, a further understanding being necessary to increase its strength. The other Powers, together with France, proposed to maintain on the coast of Syria sufficient naval forces to contribute towards the success of the undertaking, Prussia, however, excusing herself because the distribution of her ships of war at that time did not permit her to co-operate in that manner. The High Contracting Parties fixed the duration of the occupation at six months, trusting that no longer period would be required.

Saving Britain's face, the *Times* of August 10 called it "a gratifying sign of the accord which prevail [ed] among all civilised powers that, although the state of Europe [was at that moment] far from reassuring and the strength of France [was] so displayed as to be a menace for its neighbours, the European nations [were] yet capable of uniting in a great cause." Another sign of the touching accord over which Jupiter Tonans of Printing House Square went in raptures, was the necessity of disclaiming all interested motives in a protocol which supplemented for that express purpose the protocol of the convention proper. Still another sign was the anxiety with which the French transports were watched by agents of France's co-signatories, apprehensive that more troops should embark than stipulated.⁷⁷ The preposterous plan of saddling Turkey with the expenses of the expedition, undertaken against her will and from which no good to her could accrue, was abandoned because of the bad state of the Turkish finances⁷⁸

⁷⁶ E. ASHLEY, *The Life of Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston*, II, 181.

⁷⁷ The *Times* correspondent at Paris, too, was getting uneasy and wrote under the date of August 11: "Letters from Toulon and Marseilles give various particulars concerning the departure of the Syrian expedition which, if correct, would make it appear that considerably more than 6000 men will be sent."

⁷⁸ "A final article [of the draft of the Convention] saddles the Porte with the expenses of the expedition, but in the present state of the Turkish finances M. Thouvenel was uncertain whether or no he would have it inserted." Letter of July 19, 1860, from Earl Cowley to Lord Russell.

or rather because French hints to that effect had been coldly received by the other Powers. General Beaufort d'Hautpoul,⁷⁹ put in command of the expeditionary corps,⁸⁰ was instructed to act in conjunction with the international fleet off the coast of Syria, "à arrêter, par des mesures promptes et énergiques, l'effusion de sang et à seconder la répression des attentats commis sur les Chrétiens, et qui ne sauraient rester impunis. L'article III du Protocole stipule qu'à cet effet il devra à son arrivée en Syrie entrer en communication avec le Commissaire de la Porte. Cette clause était recommandée par la situation même des choses; l'accord des Puissances devait se retrouver dans la participation de leurs Agents appelés à contribuer au résultat qu'elles

⁷⁹ General Beaufort d'Hautpoul was well acquainted with Syria where he had been attached to the staff of Ibrāhim Pasha. His first aide-de-camp was the Major of Cavalry Boyer, who had served on the staff of Marshal Saint-Arnaud.

⁸⁰ The composition of the French expeditionary corps as recorded on the rocks near the mouth of the Dog River, flanked by hieroglyphics of Egyptian and cuneiform inscriptions of Assyrian kings, memorials of Roman emperors and Seljūq sultans, was as follows: "Général de Beaufort d'Hautpoul, Commandant en Chef; Colonel Osmont, Chef d'Etat-Major Général; Général Ducrot, commandant l'Infanterie; 5me de Ligne; 2me Génie; 1er Hussards; 13me de Ligne; 1er d'Artillerie; 1er Chasseurs d'Afrique; 16me Bat. Chasseurs; 10me d'Artillerie; 3me Chasseurs d'Afrique; 1er Zouaves; Services Administratifs; 2me Spahis." An American missionary tells in connection with this memento a story which is too good not to repeat: "A young Englishman named Lee visited the famous Dog River, nine miles from Beirut, for the purpose of studying the inscriptions on the ancient rock-hewn tablets of Sesostris, Esarhaddon and others, of which there were nine. On reading his "Murray's Guide" he was surprised to find that the face of one of the ancient tablets had been smoothed down by a chisel and a French inscription cut upon it, commemorating the French military expedition to Syria in 1860-61 with the name of Napoleon III and the officers of the army. Supposing it to have been the work of some unauthorised vandal, he took a stone and defaced the emperor's name from the inscription. On his return to Beirut he was summoned to the British consulate to answer a charge of the French consul that he had destroyed French property. He then wrote an apologetic answer to the French consul and also expressed his surprise that the French officials who had sent Renan to explore the Syrian antiquities, should have authorised the destruction of one of its most ancient monuments. The French consul returned his letter as unsatisfactory and there the incident closed." JESSUP, *op. cit.*, p. 236. This act of vandalism was after all quite in keeping with the destruction of ancient monuments of architecture and art for which holy ecclesiastics were canonised; with the devastation that marked the path of successful crusaders: "Amenés à s'entourer de gigantesques murailles de pierre, les templiers, les hospitaliers, l'ordre teutonique, la puissante féodalité de Syrie dévorèrent tous les monuments antiques autour d'eux, et comme ils bâtissaient bien, comme la plupart des pierres avant d'être employées étaient retaillées, les traces primitives furent déplorablement oblitérées. RENAN, *op. cit.*, Conclusions. According to information just received, a "modest" new inscription has been added to the old ones above referred to, which memorates Sir Edmund Allenby's victorious campaign of 1917-18 in wresting Syria with Palestine from the Turks.

ont résolu de poursuivre. L'envoyé du Sultan et M. le Général de Beaufort auront donc à réunir leurs efforts communs en combinant l'action de nos troupes avec les pleins pouvoirs dont le Commissaire Ottoman a été muni et qui lui donnent le droit de rendre et de faire exécuter les décisions exigées par les circonstances. M. le Général de Beaufort toutefois conserve une entière liberté d'appréciation pour tout ce qui concerne l'honneur de notre drapeau et la sûreté de notre corps expéditionnaire. A cet égard il demeure libre en s'expliquant cependant avec le Représentant du Gouvernement Turc, d'adopter les mesures et d'occuper les positions qu'il jugera utile de prendre.”⁸¹

Meanwhile Sultan 'Abd'al-Majīd had despatched Fu'ād Pasha⁸² to Syria with instructions embodied in a firmān which our author gives in extenso. Both master and servant were in dead earnest. The tidings of the massacre at Damascus, which reached Fu'ād Pasha when he arrived in Cyprus on his way from Constantinople to Bayrūt, made him “fume with rage.” He possessed a strong hand and a clever, clear head and might be relied upon to do his work much more thoroughly than commissioners who had preceded him, charged with the performance of similar tasks, Shakīb Effendy, for instance, another Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent in 1845 after the sack of the French Capuchin monastery at Abayh and the murder of its Superior, Father Charles de Lorette, to punish that crime on the spot and prevent further breaches of the peace. Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer said nothing too much when calling the new Turkish Commissioner

⁸¹ Letter, dated August 4, 1860, from M. Thouvenel, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Admiral Hamelin, French Minister of War ad interim.

⁸² Fu'ād Pasha, son of the distinguished poet Kechéyi Zadeh and himself poetically inclined in his leisure hours, was born in 1815 and educated for the medical profession. Beginning his career as a surgeon in the army, he soon entered the Civil Service as an official of the department of Foreign Affairs, was appointed secretary of the Turkish Embassy in London, then sent as a special envoy on missions to St. Petersburg and Egypt, rising rapidly to high rank. In 1851 he was Minister of Foreign Affairs, a place which he held five times besides his occupying twice the still more exalted position of Grand Vizir and once that of Minister of War. A bold military commander as he proved himself to be when in charge of the operations on the Greek frontier during the Crimean War, his greatest victories were however gained in the field of diplomacy. Pro-English in his policy, he helped to humiliate Russia as Turkish delegate to the Congress of Paris, which may have had something to do with the City of London conferring its freedom on him when, accompanying Sultan 'Abd'al-Azīz on a tour through Egypt and Europe, he visited England again. Liberal in his views, he worked together with Muhammād 'Aly Amin Pasha for the rebirth of Turkey on the lines laid down in 'Abd'al-Majīd's Hatty Sharīf and Hatty Ḥumayūn to perfect Mahmūd's incipient Tanzimat. Fu'ād Pasha died at Nice in 1869.

"perhaps the best man that could be found for the duty entrusted to him;"⁸³ Captain J. A. Paynter, Commander of Her Majesty's *Exmouth*, rightly laid stress on his "European reputation for ability and honesty of purpose."⁸⁴ Fu'ād Pasha arrived in Bayrūt on the 17th of July and lost no time in taking the necessary measures to execute the Sultan's commands. As soon as he had put the administration of the pashalic of Ḫaydā in shape, he proceeded to Damascus, which place he entered on the 4th of August, preceded, already on the 13th of July, by 3000 men of the regular army under Muḥammar Pasha who relieved Ahmad Pasha from his civil and military functions pending an inquiry into his conduct. Determined to do his duty with strict impartiality, keeping the three objects of his mission in view—repression, reparation and reorganisation—Fu'ād Pasha showed that the Porte had no desire to shirk its responsibility, and the way in which he carried out the first number on his programme, while it gained him the nickname of "father of the cord," made him at once master of the situation.⁸⁵

But the Maronites wanted more, much more than impartial treatment and justice. They wanted to secure by the tangible presence of the French troops what they had failed to gain by the former underhand consular assistance, namely, the hegemony, nay, the absolute possession of Mount Lebanon, and revenge first of all, a terrible revenge on their enemies. This last holds good for the Christians in general, who spared no pains to put the non-Christians in the most hateful light, took even advantage of the sentiment created in their behalf throughout Europe, to raise a cry against the Damascene Jews, though no doubt existed that the Jewish community of Damascus was guiltless of any participation in the outbreak.⁸⁶ It can be imagined

⁸³ Letter of July 17, 1860, to Lord Russell.

⁸⁴ Letter of July 19, 1860, to Vice-Admiral W. F. Martin.

⁸⁵ An official telegram from Damascus, dated August 20 and published in the London *Times* of September 3, 1860, which enumerates the culprits shot and hanged for a beginning, adds: "The army of the Sultan acts with the most rigorous discipline and in perfect loyalty. The arm of justice is absolutely triumphant."

⁸⁶ Cf the communication from Sir Moses Montefiore to Lord Russell, dated October 16, 1860, and accompanied by the translation of a letter he had received from the heads of the Jewish community of Damascus, dated 7th Tishri, 5621 (September, 1860), in which they complained of the Christians plotting and preferring false accusations against them with a view to having them condemned to death by the tribunal instituted to try those who had risen in rebellion.

how they exaggerated the actual misdeeds of Druzes and Moslemin, forgetting that there were two sides to the story as Lord Dufferin wrote to Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer,⁸⁷ to continue: "In proportion as the real truth unfolded itself this conjecture [that it might be necessary to modify his opinions] became a certainty and I am now in a position to state, without fear of contradiction, that however criminal may have been the excesses into which the Druzes were subsequently betrayed, the original provocation came from the Christians, and that they are themselves, in a great measure, responsible for the torrents of blood which have been shed." We have already spoken of our author's lack of appreciation of the difficulties which obstructed the path of Khürshid Pasha. His bias makes him draw a picture of Sa'yd Bey Janblāt,⁸⁸ which also bears very little resemblance to the original and reminds one of a certain biography by Capefigue, greatly disliked by Metternich, who refused to recognise himself in it, adding: "C'est au reste ainsi que s'écrit l'histoire et qu'elle ne devrait pas s'écrire."⁸⁹ Guilty as he was in some respects, the energetic Druze leader could prove at his trial, though it was not conducted in a

⁸⁷ From Bayrūt, February 24, 1861.

⁸⁸ The Janblāt family belonged with the Yazbak or 'Amād and Nakad families to the most powerful of the Druze nobility. It is said to have been of Turkish origin, OPPENHEIM, *op. cit.*, I, 115, and was one of the most wealthy and influential in the whole country; a Janblāt was Pasha of Aleppo about the beginning of the seventeenth century. BURTON, *op. cit.*, derives the name from jan-pulad, life of steel. Sa'yd Bey Janblāt, the purse, as Khaṭṭār al-'Amād was called the sword and Ḥusayn Talḥūq the tongue of the Drusee, had personal reasons to dislike the Maronites and deserves the more praise for using his influence to curb, whenever practicable, the passions of his people excited by their arrogance and insolence. He was the son of the Sheikh Bashīr Janblāt who, having amassed wealth in the Buqā'a, moved to the Shūf and settled at Mukhtāra where he built the palace which became the family-seat. Sheikh Bashīr Janblāt, always at loggerheads with the 'Amīr Bashīr Shihāb during the disturbances which enlivened the decade before the Egyptian occupation, was at last made a prisoner by irregular Turkish troops, not without Maronite assistance. Brought to Acre, 'Abdullah Pasha had him decapitated, May, 1825, at the orders of Muhammad 'Aly. "His three sons, then mere children, remained in exile during the remainder of the Amir Bashīr's administration, but returned to find their ancestral home at Muchtara in ruins, on the restoration of the Sultan's government in 1840. The eldest, Naṣman Bey, retired into strictly private life shortly after the civil war of 1841. The youngest, Ismail, was sent for his education to England, but, after only a year's absence, returned with his mind completely disordered and, lingering a few years in hopeless lunacy, died. The name, fortune and prestige of the Jumblatts had now to be sustained by Said Bey alone." CHURCHILL, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

⁸⁹ Aus Metternich's nachgelassenen Papieren, published by his son, Prince RICHARD METTERNICH-WINNBURG.

proper manner, as he averred, and several of his answers were not recorded, that he saved many a Christian's life and might have done more if he had not been handicapped by the opposition of the Yazbakies, his rivals.⁹⁰

In this connection it gives pleasure to note that our author does not repeat the gruesome tales current about Sitt Nā'yfah, Sa'yd Bey Janblāt's sister who, far from being the female ghoul, gloating in her refined cruelty over the agony of the Christians slaughtered in the sarai at Hāṣbayyā and feasting her eyes on their mangled corpses, as Colonel Churchill relates in his sensational book,⁹¹ "distinguished herself by sheltering many Christians in her house during the massacre, whereby their lives were saved,"⁹² and behaved altogether with the greatest courage, acting in their behalf with unremitting zeal.⁹³ Nevertheless numerous Christians demanded her arrest "as they [did] her execution on the plea that she was the chief instigator of the massacre of Hāṣbayyā."⁹⁴ With regard to the allegation that the Druzes maltreated and butchered women and children, we find it expressly stated that those killed of the latter were boys who might grow into men inspired with the same arrogance and rancorous hatred as their fathers. This does not exculpate but explains: a conqueror's hands are seldom wholly clean, which grievous truth we see verified even when claimants to the highest degree of culture are disseminating their superior civilisation at the point of the bayonet. Yet, to return to the indictment of the Druzes as despilers and worse, of women,

⁹⁰ Cf. the memorandum of a statement which he made on his deathbed, signed by the vice-consul E. I. ROGERS and forwarded as Inclosure Nr 4 in a letter, dated May 10, from Lord Dufferin to Lord Russell.

⁹¹ Already mentioned: *The Druzes and the Maronites under the Turkish Rule from 1840 to 1860*, p. 173.

⁹² Letter, dated Bayrūt, December 2, 1860, from Major A. J. Fraser to Lord Russell.

⁹³ From the abundant evidence to that effect we permit ourselves one other quotation: "The sister of the great Druze chief, before the massacre began, advised the Christians not to go to the serai. She most probably knew what awaited them and offered to shelter any who came into her house. Unfortunately the greater number mistrusted her, but 400 creatures crowded into her house and when the murderers, panting for more blood, demanded of her to give up the dogs of Christians, she said: 'Enter if you dare and take them!' Even in such a moment the Druzes would not have dared to violate the sanctity of the harem of one of their great Princes and with uttered curses retired. The poor creatures she carefully escorted herself to Mokhtarah whence they were dispatched to Sidon and brought off by our men-of-war and landed at Bayrūt." Statement of Mr Cyril Graham, inclosed in a letter, dated August 5, 1860, from Lord Dufferin to Lord Russell.

⁹⁴ See the letter mentioned in Note 92.

the character of the proofs adduced excites so much suspicion, especially since we have to do with a people lauded by all who know them for their respectful attitude towards the sex both in peace and war,⁹⁵ that we hardly can blame those who scent here another trumped-up charge to shift the responsibility for one of the most abominable features of the atrocities committed, from where it belongs to the general account of the common foe.⁹⁶

"Under the circumstances," says Lord Dufferin in another letter⁹⁷ from Bayrūt to Lord Russell, referring to the inflammatory terms in which Bishop Tūbiyā wrote to the people of Dayr al-Qamar and openly talked of the expulsion of the Druzes, "it is idle to speak of the Christians as if they were saintly martyrs. They are as savage and bloodthirsty in their traditional warfare as any of their pagan neighbours. Nay, their clans often carry on internecine blood-feuds with one another in which they do not even spare the womankind. An instance of such strife occurred but two years ago, in the case of the Hayin sheikhs and similar occurrences are frequent in their history. In this respect, at least, the Druzes are the more humane; they never war on one another and women are sacred in their eyes." Even a French missionary⁹⁸ testifies to foreign interference *pour le bon motif* being the spark which set fire to that excessively combustible material and caused it to explode, at first the wrong way—considered from the standpoint of the Maronites. Afterwards they gained their end to a certain extent, as we shall see later on. Foreign agents, openly or clandestinely supported by the Powers, kept on meddling,⁹⁹ under-

⁹⁵ See for instance a memorandum by Mr. Robson, Irish Presbyterian missionary at Damascus, forwarded by Lord Dufferin to Lord Russell, September 23, 1860.

⁹⁶ "Voici maintenant les correspondances anglaises qui accusent les Grecs orthodoxes et même les Arméniens catholiques d'avoir joué un rôle très actif dans les scènes de dévastation dont les Maronites ont été les victimes. On va jusqu'à dire que les Grecs seraient les auteurs des crimes abominables qui ont été commis sur les femmes, les Druses, dans toute l'histoire de leurs guerres, ne s'étant jamais écartés du respect que leurs principes leur enseignent, même à l'égard des femmes de leurs ennemis vaincus. Les Grecs auraient profité de l'occasion pour chercher une revanche de l'affaire des lieux saints et de la guerre de la Crimée." XAVIER RAYMOND, *op. cit.*

⁹⁷ Dated December 19, 1860

⁹⁸ JULES FERRETTE, *La Guerre du Liban et l'État de la Syrie, Revue des Deux Mondes*, August 15, 1860: "Pour troubler la paix, il fallait la malice et la ruse de tiers intéressés à la ruine commune, . . ."

⁹⁹ A fine instance of this evil is furnished by Inclosure Nr 3 in a letter, dated July 19, 1860, from Consul-General Moore to Lord Russell. This document is nothing more nor

mining the authority of the legitimate government which, every time the Syrian proverb that too much tying loosens, came true in its affairs, aggravating its predicament, had to answer insolently polite requests for information why it could not keep its house in order. Events meanwhile following events, Iskander Ibn Ya'qūb Abkārīū's chronicle, illustrative of the manner in which European bickerings reacted on religious animosities in the Lebanon and affected the political and economic conditions of the whole of Syria, elucidates within its limits:

How—to borrow David Urquhart's words¹⁰⁰—the five Powers, who signed the Treaty of July, 1841, by dividing the Mountain into two governments of Druzes and Maronites, and imposing ruinous duties upon exportation, brought upon it in the course of ten years, four civil wars;

How the four Powers commenced their work on the pretext of excluding French influence, and the five Powers completed it by causing the country to be occupied by French troops.

less than a report by a traveller without any official standing, who, having been sent by the consular corps at Bayrūt on a mission to the Druse chiefs in the Lebanon, neither he nor his principals worrying about the consent of the proper authorities, ordered those chiefs to assemble in council and seemed rather astonished at their reluctance to appear and wait on his good pleasure.

¹⁰⁰ *Op. cit.*, Preface.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT

[A photograph opposite the title-page represents as the "author of the book" a slim, kindly looking, middle-aged gentleman in turkish and European dress, decorated with the badges of four orders of knighthood.]

BOOK OF THE MARVELS OF THE TIME CONCERNING THE MASSACRES IN THE ARAB COUNTRY.

(P. 2) In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate! Praise to Him who has no equal in dignity and perfection, in greatness and majesty, and passes judgment upon the conduct of our lives at their appointed term; who changes the seasons and alters circumstances! But Himself He does not change in the space of all time from generation to generation. We thank Him for the gifts and favors He bestows upon us. And we pray Him for His assistance in everything we say and do. *Proceeding:* The one in need¹ [of the grace of God], who hopes for the mercy of his very holy Lord, Iskander, the son of Ya'qūb Abkāriūs, begs to say that, when the affliction came to pass which befell the Christians from the nation of the Druzes in Mount Lebanon,² its report spread in all districts and countries, and the people spoke of it in every place until in length of time it turned their tears to anger. (P. 3) I have opened this book with an exposition of what I have ascertained [to be true] of it and have added a narrative of the events at Damascus and what happened there in the matter of devastation. And I have taken great pains, putting my soul into this business, and I have been very careful in the selection of my material, endeavoring to sift it carefully. And I offer what I have been able to verify by means of inquiry and investigation in order that whoever comes after me, may learn the truth about these troubles and disturbances; and that he may know the design and intention of the evil purposed with them. Therefore, supported by the power of Him who be supremely exalted, I have produced a book, completing [that which I] intended in the best manner [I could]. And this I did in the city of Bayrūt, the protected, of the province of Syria. And when it was all finished and it seemed good, I called it *Marvels of the*

¹ An epithet inspired, like the Christian author's initial formula, by his Muhammadan environment if not antecedents; cf Qurān, XXXV, 16. In the following pages many such expressions will be found, redolent of Islāmic convictions and modes of thought, which often form a curious mixture with an acquired Christian phraseology as a vehicle for imperfectly assimilated Christian ideas.

² The "white" or "whitish," a name said to be derived from the brightness of the limestone walls that line the mountain range and give it a distinctive, radiant appearance.

*Time concerning the Massacres in the Arab Country;*³ and I divided it into nine chapters, inserting into them what they contain of causes and effects.

(P. 4) First Chapter.

Statement regarding Mount Lebanon and the acts of injustice and iniquity there committed.

Second Chapter.

Narrative of the troubles and disturbances which occurred in al-Matn and as-Sāhil.

Third Chapter.

Narrative of the treachery and deceit suffered by the people of ad-Dubbīyah and Mu'allaqat ad-Dāmūr.

Fourth Chapter.

Narrative of the heart-rending trials that befell the people of the district of Jazzīn and of at-Tuffāh and al-Kharnūb.

(P. 5) Fifth Chapter.

Concerning the carnage at Hāṣbayyā, which was followed by the massacre of Rāshayyā.

Sixth Chapter.

Concerning the siege of Zahlah, which forced its inhabitants to emigrate.

Seventh Chapter.

Concerning the massacre at Dayr al-Qamar, which was pitiless and did not [seem to] cease.

Eighth Chapter.

Concerning the carnage at Damascus and the part played in it by the 'Amīr 'Abd'al-Qādir, the Algerian, who, prompted by exceeding

³ The last two words of the title here repeated and half erased and rewritten in the Arabic text, bear the guilty look of a pun on the geographical term 'Arabistan, viz., "Arab Country" or "Land of the Arabs," used to designate both the Persian province of Khuzistān and the provinces of the Ottoman Empire where Arabs and their descendants or Arabic speaking peoples form the bulk of the population; cf Note 49 to the Introduction. As finally written, they may be read by the lover of such plays on words, "Arabs of the Garden (of Syria)."

kindness and solicitude, did the right thing with regard to the Christians.

(P. 6) *Ninth Chapter.*

Concerning the advent of the companion of Empire and high consideration and dignity, Fu'ād Pasha, and his honoring [visit to] Bayrūt on the part of his Majesty the Sultān 'Abd'al-Majīd Khān for the purpose of restoring order in the affairs of Mount Lebanon.

I say: These [headings of the different] chapters are the substance of the contents of this book. But I have mentioned in them [still] more important events as appended to every subdivision.

FIRST CHAPTER

Statement about Mount Lebanon and the acts of injustice and iniquity there committed.

We, before we enter upon the narrative of the disturbances and of the occurrence (P. 7) of horrible and abominable actions, deem it proper to consider the aspect of the affairs of the Mount and to [state to] which confessions and nations⁴ its inhabitants belong in order that more satisfaction and greater advantage be [derived from this book]. We say [therefore] that Mount Lebanon [is one] of the most famous mountains that exist and that its inhabitants have their origin in the most remote ages, preceding the epochs and times of the peoples who clung to vain beliefs. And now they [the peoples of the Lebanon, divided according to their creeds, are principally] Christians and Druzes, and among these [live] a few Moslemin and Mutāwalias.⁵

⁴ I. e. religious communities, to the patriarchs or other recognised heads of which well-disposed Ottoman rulers have granted, by successive firmāns, certain rights and privileges that actually give them the status of separate nations, differences of creed dividing the people like or even more strongly than differences of nationality. Only the Maronites among the Christian denominations are without such a firmān. But, to quote Dr F. J. BLISS, *op. cit.*, p. 23, "the fact that ever since 1516 they have enjoyed all the privileges of a "nation" recognised by the sultans, is considered to be sufficient. Precedent takes the place of formal authorisation."

⁵ The Mutāwalias are Shi'ites who, in the Lebanon, greatly exceed the Sunnites in number. To the North they extend as far as Ḥomṣ (Pliny's Hemesa of ancient renown), to the South as far as the Baḥr Tabariya (Sea of Galilee). Counting some 120,000, they are said to

As regards the Christians in the aforesaid Mount Lebanon, their number reaches about ninety thousand males and most of them are of the Maronite persuasion.⁶ Among them, however, are also who belong to the Orthodox Greek Church and to the Greek Catholic [United Greek] Church.⁷ As regards the Druzes, their number reaches, roughly speaking, fifteen (P. 8) thousand⁸ and more.⁹ They deny the resurrection [of the body] and believe in the transmigration of the soul. They consider everything permitted if [only] it is done in secret. They assert the divinity of Adam whom they call Shaṭnīl,¹⁰ and they say that his soul has migrated from one to another from generation to generation until it entered the Imām 'Aly Ibn Abū Ṭālib, the Eminent, and then¹¹ [one of] the issue of his daughter¹²

be the descendants of Persian settlers in the time of 'Umayyad rule, have an ugly reputation and show themselves very suspicious of strangers. Their religious chief resides at Jabā'ah near Jazīn. Their leading family is that of the Ḥarfūsh.

⁶ According to a *Table of the Statistics of Mount Lebanon*, already mentioned, the number of Christians capable of carrying arms was 190.055 of whom 102.105 were Maronites. As regards those Maronites, "ils résidèrent longtemps dans le Nord du Liban (Batroun et Djebail) sans dépasser le Nahr Ibrahim. Ils se sont graduellement avancés dans la direction du Sud et de l'Est, poussés par les Ansariah et poussant eux-mêmes les Druses; ils ont ainsi occupé les districts de Kérouan, Meten, Djézzin. Leur prise de possession du littoral phénicien et de la Bekaa se continue encore à l'heure actuelle." A. BERNARD, *op. cit.*

⁷ The members of the Orthodox Greek and the Greek Catholic or United Greek Churches, are, after the Maronites, numerically the strongest among the Christians of the Lebanon. The number of Protestants, Roman Catholics, Syrian Catholics (United Syrians) and United Armenians is very small in that region, not to mention the Gregorian Armenians, Jacobites, Orthodox Nestorians and United Nestorians or Chaldaeans.

⁸ Males understood.

⁹ Rather more: the table again referred to in Note 6, gives 56.035, a number which has considerably shrunk in consequence of the Druze exodus to Ḥaurān that followed the events of 1860 and European intervention.

¹⁰ Cf H. GUYS, *Théogonie des Druses*: "Adam, l'Élu [to be distinguished from the two other Adams, the rebellious or partial and the forgetful or material one] a eu, d'ailleurs, plusieurs apparitions avant qu'il eût reçu le nom de Schatnīl et on le fait naître dans une ville de l'Inde. Puis il est envoyé pour être adoré par les anges."

¹¹ After several other migrations; see SILVENTRE DE SACY, *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, 1838, still the standard work on its subject, to which and *La Nation Druse* by H. GUYS, 1864, we refer for clearer notions than those possessed by our author anent the Syrian unitarians, who claimed that the secret of their religion was better guarded from the uninitiated than the track of a black ant perambulating a piece of black marble on a black night. P. WOLFF, *Die Drusen und ihre Vorläufer*, 1845; F. TOURNEBIZE, *Les Druses*, in the *Études des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus*, October 5, 1897; and C. F. SEYBOLD, *Die Drusenschrift Kitab al-Noqāt wal-Dawā'ir*, 1902, may also be consulted.

¹² Viz. the Prophet's daughter, who was 'Aly's wife.

Fātimah, who was one of the Fatimide Khalifs,¹³ called al-Mansūr,¹⁴ and after his investment [with the Khalifate], received the surname of al-Ḥākim-bi-'amri'llah.¹⁵ Thereupon he surnamed himself al-Ḥākim-bi-'amri-hi,¹⁶ reposing confidence in his being He.¹⁷ And the first to believe in him [as such] was his wazīr Ḥamzah Ibn 'Aly al-Majūsy, and then the Sheikh Ma'n Ibn Ṣafiyah and the Sheikh Husayn ad-Darazy. And the latter is he from whom (P 9) of yore this community originated¹⁸ because he was strenuous in its faith and in the furtherance of its success, always ready to urge people to the worship of al-Ḥākim above all [other] beliefs and religions. And the first place where he made his appearance¹⁹ was the Wādy Taym-Allah Ibn Tha'labah²⁰ in Mount Lebanon. And part of the people of the aforesaid Wādy at-Taym and Iqlim al-Ballān put their trust in him. Thereupon these dissenting opinions spread to the Jabal ash-Shūf²¹ and the Jabal ash-Sheikh²² and the Jabal al-A'lā²³ and the countries of Ṣafad and Ḥaurān²⁴ where, however, they [who

¹³ Ḥākim, son of Azīz-billah Abū Mansūr Nazār and a Christian woman, sixth of the Fatimide Khalifs and third of the Fatimide rulers of Egypt.

¹⁴ The Victorious because assisted by God.

¹⁵ The one who exercises authority by the decree of God.

¹⁶ The one who exercises authority by his own decree.

¹⁷ I. e. God incarnate.

¹⁸ Deriving its name from his cognomen ad-Darazy. Of Persian extraction, he was called Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'il, not Husayn as our author has it, and in the books of the Druses he bears the Turkish prænomen Nashtagin. Cf. B. CARRA DE VAUX, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, v. *Darazi*.

¹⁹ In 1017. Cf. F. A. MÜLLER, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, I, 632. But F. WÜSTENFELD, *Geschichte der Fatimidenchalifen*, puts the date some three years later, in the last year of Ḥākim's life.

²⁰ Still revered as the cradle of the Druze religion.

²¹ With Ba'aqlīn, a focal point of Druze religious life, still a centre of Druze activity in the Lebanon.

²² Mount Hermon.

²³ The High Mountain.

²⁴ The Arabic form of Auranitis and therefore Haurān, not the Haurān as we commonly find. King James's translators of the Bible, too, EZEKIEL, XLVII, 16 & 18, have the word without the definite article. Probably of inconsiderable extent in biblical times when it corresponded with Bashan, the famous King Og's territory, Ḥaurān was enlarged under the Greeks and the Romans. Still farther increased since those days it "now includes not only Auranitis but Ituraea also, or Ittur, of which Djedour is perhaps a corruption, together with the greater part of Basan or Batanaea and Trachonitis. From Strabo and Ptolemy we learn that Trachonitis comprehended all the uneven country extending along the eastern side of the plain of Haouran from near Damascus to Boszra. The two Trachones into which Trachonitis was divided, agree with the two natural divisions

had adopted them] concealed their real religion and made an outward show of professing Islām. And they provided themselves with secret sanctuaries for those to pray in who knew the mysteries of their religion. These were called the 'uqqāl'²⁶ in distinction from those who knew but the name [externals] of [their] creed, and they (P. 10) [were called] the juhhāl.²⁶ And with regard to the [religious] services of the Moslemin, they used only to recite the *burdah* before the raising of the dead [on his bier when about to be] carried [to his grave], the [poem] namely, composed by the Sheikh Muḥammad Ibn Sa'yd ad-Dilāsy²⁷ in praise of the Prophet, the opening lines of which run:

Is it from a recollection of associates of the possessor of salvation •
that thou minglest the tears which flow from the eye with blood?

Or does the wind blow right in the face, obstructing [advance], •
and lightning flash in the darkness of wrath?

[and so on] until he says in refinement of praise:

And how could necessity call to the world him • without whom
the world would not have come forth from naught?

Muḥammad, the lord of the two universes [all that exists], of the
two kinds of creatures [men and spirits] • and the two classes [of
mankind], Arabs and aliens.

of the Ledja and Djebel Haouran. Boszra, the principal town in the Haouran, [is] remarkable for the antiquity of its castle and the ancient ruins and inscriptions to be found there." BURCKHARDT, *op. cit.* Cf SIR GEORGE ADAM SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 30/2: "The northern levels of Hauran are from 2000 to 3000 feet above the sea, but on the south the plateau shelves off by broad degrees of about 1600 and 1300 feet to its limit in the deep valley of the Yarmuk., the plateau bears abundant wheatin repute all round the Levant. Before the war the annual yield of grain was said to be 320.000 tons." The definite settlement of Haurān by the Druzes began after the battle of 'Ayn Darah in 1711. The changes in the administration of Mount Lebanon after the massacres of 1860, again caused many of them to seek safety from the Maronites in the Jabal Duruz.

²⁶ The initiated, lit. the knowing or intelligent, "durchgeistigt" as OPPENHEIM expresses it, to add, *op. cit.*, I, 137, Note 1, "Diese Bezeichnung für die eigentlichen Träger der drusischen Religion ist in Verbindung damit, dass der erste Minister Gottes Maulāi 'Akl, 'Monseigneur l'Esprit,' als Verkörperung des Geistes gedacht wird, ein Beweis für die hohe Verehrung welche die Drusen dem Geist und dem Wissen entgegenbringen, worauf sie besonders stolz sind." Women can become initiated as well as men and the most meritorious, who attain a degree of perfection rarely met with, are called *ajāwid*.

²⁷ The uninitiated, lit. the ignorant, uneducated.

²⁸ Sharaf ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Sa'yd Ibn Ḥammād Ibn Muhsin, born March 7, 1213, in Abūṣr or in Dilās, whence the cognomen al-Buṣrī or ad-Dilāsy. His celebrated poem of the mantle received that name because it was said to have been composed after his cure of a paralytic stroke by the miraculous properties of the Prophet's mantle thrown over his shoulders. Cf RENÉ BASSSET, *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, v. *Burda*.

And they made also a show of fasting, a blind to the eyes of the people, but in secret [they took food for] they did neither fast nor pray because al-Hākim bi-'amri-hi had turned them aside from fasting and praying and from the pilgrimage [to Mecca] and almsgiving. And from the earliest times there were dissensions between them (P. 11) because some of them claimed kinship with the Qaysites and some with the Yamanites.²⁸ And [in consequence of that ancient feud] many wars occurred among them, breaking out time after time until the encounter took place of 'Ayn Dārah in the year eleven hundred and twenty-three of the Flight,²⁹ when the Qaysite faction gained a victory over the Yamanite party and killed seven men of the Banū 'Alam ad-Dīn at-Tanūkhy.³⁰ So the Yamanite bands were reduced and lost heart and left the country in their vexation. And the commander of the Qaysite forces was the 'Amīr Haydar ash-Shihāby, governor of the country, who bestowed the 'amirate upon the Banū Abū'l-Lama' and the title of sheikh upon the Banū Nakad³¹ and the Banū Talhūq³² in recognition of [their zeal in] the war. Nevertheless the power of the sheikhs of the Banū Janblāṭ and the Banū al-'A-mād became very great and in course of time discord arose between (P. 12) these 'Amādite and Janblāṭite chiefs. And the Lama'ite 'amīrs joined the Banū Janblāṭ while the other chiefs, except those of the Banū Nakad, [joined] the Banū 'Amād. And thence the clans of the country branched off into Janblāṭites and Yazbakites,

²⁸ The old party-spirit which the Arabs carried with them wherever they went: into the Lebanon and Palestine, in fact, the whole of Syria, as into Iraq and Africa and Spain and Sicily. BURCKHARDT, writing March 19, 1812, confirms VOLNEY'S information, *Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie, pendant les années 1783, 1784 & 1785*, I, 413/4, that the Qaysites fought under red, the Yamanites under white banners.

²⁹ A. D. 1711. This battle of 'Ayn Dārah established the youthful Haydar Shihāb as successor of the 'Amīr Ahmad Ma'n in the government of the Lebanon and delivered a blow to the Syrian Yamanites from which they never recovered. A later battle of 'Ayn Darah belongs to the events which form the subject of this narrative.

³⁰ The Tanūkhies belonged to one of the most important families that moved to Syria from South Arabia and were among the first in the Lebanon to embrace the doctrine of ad-Darazy of which they became strong supporters.

³¹ An influential family among the Druzes which seems to have been of Maghrebine origin. Now extinct in Syria it is said still to exist in Morocco under the name of Alkad. Cf OPPENHEIM, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

³² Another influential Druze family which followed the fortunes of the Shihābies; it was predominant in the Upper Gharb. Cf C. H. CHURCHILL, *Mount Lebanon*, I, 159.

the latter of whom claimed descent from Yazbak, ancestor of the 'Amādite chiefs. And the Christians took part in this new grouping of parties into which they brought with them their bloody actions and retaliations [their thirst for blood and blood-revenge], accompanying them [their allies under the new dispensation] in their wars and on their raids. But the Druzes, whenever strong hostility arose among them, quelled any outbreak of such discord between them and [those of] a foreign creed so that for the moment they renounced tendencies of the kind and settled their differences as if they were one body. But when unoccupied [in the general cause and free to do as they pleased] they returned to their factional gangs (P. 13) in the usual way. *And since we have begun our discourse by making mention of public functions and governors, it may be permitted to us that we acquit ourselves of this [task] in full.* So we say that of yore the governors of this country were [chosen] from the Ma'nite 'amīrs, and the last of them was the 'Amīr Aḥmad, who died in the year eleven hundred and nine of the Flight.³³ And when at that time the [male] offspring of the Ma'n family had ceased to exist, his kinsman, the 'Amīr Bashīr³⁴ of the Shihāb family was after him entrusted with the government, [and he was] the first [governor] who resided in Haṣbayyā under the jurisdiction of Damascus, at that time [the capital of] a province the territory of which extended from the city of Ṣafad, near Nābulus,³⁵ to Zāwyat al-Jubbah near Tarābulus.³⁶ And he [the 'Amīr Bashīr Shihāb] resided there for nine years whereupon he died in the city of Ṣafad.³⁷ And in his place his cousin, the 'Amīr Haydar, [one] of the 'amīrs (P. 14) of Haṣbayyā and governor of that town, was entrusted with the government. And he is the ancestor of all the Shihābite 'amīrs found in the Mount at the present day. And after him the highest authority was in turn [entrusted to his successors] according to the will of God [the God] of [all] time. And all of them submitted obediently to the commands of the wazīrs of the Ottoman

³³ Which ran from July 20, 1697, to July 10, 1698, of the Christian Era.

³⁴ As we have already stated, the 'Amīr Bashīr Shihāb governed not in his own right, but for Haydar Shihāb, Aḥmad Ma'n's grandson and successor, then still a minor.

³⁵ Schechem.

³⁶ Tripoli.

³⁷ Or in Acre from poison, administered to him in the year 1708, not without the knowledge, it seems, of the young 'Amīr Haydar, who did not relish his kinsman barring the way to his place at the head of affairs.

Empire, being raised to the government of Ṣaydā on the part of the Illustrious Empire. And it was the wazīr who appointed [of them] whom he chose and who dismissed whom he chose. And they [the governors] appointed and dismissed whom they chose of the sheikhs and 'amīrs. And among the 'amīrs that used to rule the Druze districts, were those of the Banū Raslān³⁸ in the Near Għarb, and of the Banū Abū'l-Lama' in the Matn; and among the sheikhs those of the Banū 'Abd'al-Malik in the Jurd, and of the Banū al-'Amād in the 'Arqūb, and of the Banū Nakad in the Munāṣif and the Shahār, and of the Banū Talḥūq in the Upper Għarb, and of the Banū Janblāt (P. 15) in the Shūf which is called the Shūf of the Banū Ma'n. And it [the Shūf] is divided into the Shūf al-Haythy with Mukhtāra³⁹ for its capital and the Shūf as-Suwijany with Ba'aqlīn⁴⁰ for its principal town. And their government was also submitted to in the western part of the Buqā'a⁴¹ and the Jabal ar-Rihān,⁴² and the district of al-Kharnūb and the district of at-Tuffāh, and the district of Jazzīn.⁴³ And they enjoyed precedence in rank over all the other chiefs. And the principal town in these (several) districts was Dayr al-Qamar.⁴⁴

³⁸ This family, which BURCKHARDT, writing March 19, 1812, *op. cit.*, gives a place among the descendants of the Prophet, claims for its ancestor the 'Amīr 'Aun, son of the dethroned King Mundir of Ḥīra, and relationship with the Abbasides of Sevilla, while it also intermarried with the Abbasides. The Raslānies suffered severely during the crusades and were almost supplanted by the Tanūkhies, a closely related family, but regained in course of time a good deal of their influence. Cf OPPENHEIM, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

³⁹ The Casale Mactara of the crusaders. As the place elected by the Janblāties for their residence in the Shūf, its name, "the chosen abode," is very appropriate. We have already spoken of the vicissitudes of the family-seat of that ancient house. Restored after its destruction by the 'Amīr Bashīr Shihāb, it was long inhabited, after the events of 1860, by Sitt Nā'yfah, Sa'yd Bey Janblāt's sister. The present head of the Janblāties, Nasib Bey, seems, however, to prefer living in Bayrūt.

⁴⁰ Once a favorite place of settlement for the North Arabian Banū Raby'a, it owes its foundation to the Ma'n family and became noted as a centre of Druze activity. Cf Note 21.

⁴¹ The cleft between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, watered by the Nahr al-Liṭānī and called the Buqā'a or "upland plain," is the ancient Coelesyria in its most restricted sense. Though less well cultivated than in Greek and Roman times, the principal families of the Lebanon had farms there which yielded to some of them considerable incomes.

⁴² Also called Jabal az-Zāwiyah or Jabal al-'Arba'in, mountain of the forty (martyrs).

⁴³ Known for the silk and wine it produces; its capital of the same name is the Casale de Gezin of the crusaders.

⁴⁴ The Monastery of the Moon, a name which, according to BURCKHARDT, writing March 18, 1812, was originally given to a convent in that locality, dedicated to the Virgin "who is generally represented in Syria with the moon beneath her feet." Dayr al-Qamar, a centre of the silk industry, was noted for the rich gowns of gold and silver brocade there.

And this was the place to which befell the woeful things [things that make the eyes hot, cause them to shed tears] which we are going to relate. From olden times it was the residence of the Shihâbite governors until the turn arrived of the 'Amîr Bashîr the Second,⁴⁵ who left it, preferring to live at Bayt ad-Dîn,⁴⁶ where he built a magnificent sarai.⁴⁷

woven and worn by the ladies of the gentry. As a peculiarity of this town, whose population is almost wholly Christian, OPPENHEIM informs us, *op. cit.*, I, 31, that it possesses a small mosque with a fine minaret, "wohl die einzige Moschee im Lebanon; sie dûrfte von den Ma'n errichtet sein."

"More correctly speaking the First since Bashîr Shihâb, reckoned to be the first in this narrative, was officially only the locum tenens for his minor kinsman Haydar.

"The more correct spelling of this name seems to be Bataddin or Bteddin and its derivation to have nothing to do with that implied in the form which our author favors. BURCKHARDT writes under the date of March 18, 1812: ". Beteddin. which, in Syriac, means the two teats, and has received its name from the similarity of two neighbouring hills, upon one of which the village is built. Almost all the villages in this neighbourhood have Syriac names." DE LAMARTINE, writing October 3, 1832, speaks of "le château de Dptédin, pyramide au sommet de son mamelon," repeating the word later on.

"Rather than call a sarai a seraglio or a castle or a palace or a fortified seat of authority, or strain our ingenuity to invent a term which might combine a few, if not all, of the original word's meanings, we take the liberty to follow the example of linguistically (and in every respect) much more competent travellers in those parts, even the most illustrious of whom leave it untranslated. The 'Amîr Bashîr's sarai appears to have been a marvel of art. As Fakhr ad-Dîn, his predecessor of the Ma'n family, who had been in Italy, had tried to imitate in his town and country-houses the palaces and villas of the Medici and of his host, the Grand Duke Ferdinando of Tuscany, he created in the Munâqif a sort of Versailles in miniature, where he kept court in great state. DE LAMARTINE, who visited him in 1832, writes of it, *op. cit.*, ". le palais moresque de l'Emir s'étendait majestueusement sur tout le plateau de Dptédin, avec ses tours carrées, percées d'ogives crénelées à leurs sommets, ses longues galeries s'élevant les unes sur les autres en présentant de longues files d'arcades élancées et légères comme les tiges des palmiers qui les couronnaient de leurs panaches aériens; des vastes cours descendaient en degrés immenses depuis le sommet de la montagne jusqu'aux cours d'enceinte des fortifications: à l'extrémité de la plus vaste de ces cours, sur lesquelles nos regards plongeaient de l'élévation du nous étions placés, la façade irrégulière du palais des femmes se présentait à nous, les bains consistent en cinq ou six salles pavées de marbre à compartiments et dont les voûtes et les murs étaient enduits de stuc et peints à détrempe avec beaucoup de goût et d'élégance par des peintres de Damas." A correspondent of the London *Times*, writing under the date of September 1 (issue of September 21), 1860, says that the palace had then "for a long time been used for barracks. The Turkish government has repeatedly offered the palace for sale to which its size has hitherto proved an insuperable obstacle." A. VON KREMER, *Mittelsyrien und Damascus*, p. 244/5, noticed, about the middle of the last century, over the principal entrance "zwei gekettete Löwen aus Stein gehauen, das Abzeichen des Hauses Schihab. es ist da ein Gewirre von Gängen, Treppen, Säulen und verborgenen Räumen das aller Regelmässigkeit spottet. dabei ist im Schlosse eine grosse Menge von Terrassen, hölzernen Balkonen, Divanen, Springbrunnen

He led the water⁴⁸ toward it between the mountains and the valleys from (P. 16) a distance of three hours. And in it [its grounds] he laid out many gardens. And the aforesaid 'amīr was an 'amīr of grand [truly princely] condition. No one like him was found in Mount Lebanon since days gone by because he was a dignified, venerable man, intelligent and of sound judgment, noble and highly cultured, clear-sighted with regard to the consequences [of his actions], patient in adversity; moreover righteous in his [administration of] justice, magnanimous in his forbearance and clemency. Neither did he distinguish between the rich and the poor, nor side with any [large] proprietor against any bondman, nor discriminate on account of [men's] opinions and beliefs, nor accept bribes in whatever form [they might be offered], nor break [his] promises, nor indulge in improper speech. He was furthermore [a man] of the most redoubtable courage who [at the same time] had attained the highest degree of self-restraint (P. 17). Inebriating beverages he never drank and he had acquired all good and commendable habits while shunning everything disapproved [by God]. And the poets were eager in his praise⁴⁹ and their poems streamed in upon him from every side. To this poetry belongs a poem in which the learned among the learned says, the poet of culture and understanding, the well-instructed Buṭrus Karāmah:

Bashīr, the Shihābite, the exalted master, a illustrious hero, generous and just,

und ein herrliches Bad mit fünf Gemächern, in deren jedem die Hitze sich steigert..... Der Sommerpalast liegt auf einem anstossenden Berge etwas höher, ist aber nicht so geraumig wie der Winterpalast." OPENHEIM, who was there in the 'nineties, says, *op. cit.*, I 29/30, that a subterranean passage led from the beautiful bathrooms "nach der unweit des Schlosses befindlichen Maroniten-kirche, welche der Emir Baschir zu der Zeit benützte als er aus politischen Gründen zum Christentum übergetreten, für die Welt jedoch Muselman geblieben war..... In der nächsten Nähe des eigentlichen Serai von Bteddin erblickt man vier weitere Schlösser welche Emir Beschir Schihab für seine Söhne hat erbauen lassen. Das eine derselben ist zu einer Kaserne eingerichtet; das zweite befindet sich zwischen der Maroniten-kirche und dem Regierungspalaste und ist durch Rusten Pascha in das Gefängnis für den Libanon District umgewandelt; die beiden übrigen Schlösser liegen etwas höher als das Palais, auf derselben Seite des Thales, sie sind in noch ziemlich guten Zustande und mit ihren Terrassen-bauten, Bogenfenstern und Säulengänge ausserordentlich malerische Bürgen. Beide gehören dem maronitischen Bischof Butros Bustani; das eine bewohnt er selbst,....." In the other resided the 'Amīr Muṣṭafa Raslān, chief of the Shūf, the only remaining district of the Lebanon with a Druze at the head of its administration.

⁴⁸ Of the river Bārūk.

⁴⁹ Such a muster of perfection in such a high place could, of course, not escape their attentions—tout comme chez nous!

The glorious lord, noble and wise, a possessor of authority, whose favors do not cease,

Surpassing all as he leads in high purpose and dignity, a excelling in power and forbearance and magnanimity,

A lion in subduing lions when a he draws his sword or brandishes his lance in war:

Many a brave warrior does he destroy in the hour of attack!⁵⁰ a And whoever of the army assaults him and experiences him [his prowess], turns away.⁵¹

In his day the country was safe and secure, and as to the conduct of those near to him, no one dared (P. 18) to deviate from the straight path or to encroach upon his neighbor's rights even if he were one of the greatest among the great. And in his [Bashir Shihab's] country his position was elevated and his word listened to [he being] long of reach and firm of foot until the year eighteen

⁵⁰ Lit. "when he descends," i. e. from his camel to mount his horse for the charge.

"DE LAMARTINE, *op. cit.*, describes the 'Amir Shihab as "un beau vieillard à l'oeil vif et pénétrant, au teint frais et animé, à la barbe grise et ondoyante." B. POUJOLAT, who visited him five years later, says, November, 1837, in a letter to his brother, cf his *Voyage à Constantinople, dans l'Asie Mineure, en Mésopotamie, à Palmyre, en Syrie, en Palestine et en Égypte*: "Le Prince de la Montagne est un homme d'environ soixante ans; il est de moyenne taille; l'ensemble de la figure a quelque chose de sauvage et de distingué en même temps. Ses yeux sont bleus, petits, mais pétillants d'esprit; son nez est très gros et sa barbe blanche est belle et soignée..... L'émir qui passe pour avoir quelque chose de la cruauté du tigre (réputation d'ailleurs bien méritée pour avoir fait brûler les yeux à ses six cousins), m'a paru doué de toute la finesse du chat. Il passe dans le Liban pour un homme sans foi, sans parole, un aveugle observateur des ordres de Méhémet Ali; un gouverneur tyrannique qui a causé la ruine des habitants de la montagne en les pressurant depuis quarante ans; on m'a assuré qu'indépendamment de la somme que l'émir donne chaque année à Méhémet Ali pour le pays qu'il gouverne à titre de fermage, il retire pour son propre compte 6.000 bourses (750.000 frs). Les Maronites, les Druses et les Ansariens se plaignent tout haut de l'horrible oppression de l'émir." The erratic Lady Hester Lucy Stanhope, too, appears not to have been so enthusiastic about the 'Amir Bashir as the poet quoted in the text. A dilettante in politics as in many other things, she wrote to Mr John Barker, English consul at Aleppo, under the date of March 11, 1815: "But now I must return to Sir Sidney [Smith, the defender of Acre], who has been very imprudent in taking for earnest what the Emir Beshir said to that fool Mr Fiot in compliment:—'I have fifteen thousand men always ready at a moment's warning: They are at Sir Sidney's disposal if he should require them.' Upon the strength of this, Sir Sidney has written for those men to hold themselves in readiness and sent me flags and God knows what, to drill them in the European way. Luckily his letters to the Emir Beshir are only with a flying seal. I have read them and *must* keep them back; were I to send them and he, the Emir Beshir, to act on them, I should risk his head." BARKER, *op. cit.*, I, 229.

hundred and forty of the Christian Era, at the time when the English ships arrived and reclaimed the land of Syria from the power of Egypt [restoring it] to the Ottoman Empire. The 'Amīr Bashīr then left his country for the island of Malta,⁵² in consequence of critical circumstances surprising him, and in his place the 'Amīr Bashīr the Third, his cousin and namesake, was invested with the government.⁵³ But the latter did not possess any of [his predecessor's] innate good qualities, nor the excellence of his moral character and attributes, while his share of knowledge in the science of politics⁵⁴ was small, and he lacked training (P. 19) in travelling the ways of authority [conducting the affairs of government] with stinginess of levity of the tongue [with circumspect language]. Unable furthermore to master the issues of the times, he did not heed the advice of man [other people] and employed the services of obscure individuals of the lowest class, disdaining the assistance of families of might [influence]. In fact, he showed no regard for his companions of rank and station, from whom he differed in manners and breeding, which kindled in their hearts the fire of revenge. [Consequently] they harassed him [with such] mischief and violence [as lay in their power] until [at last] they surrounded and besieged him in Dayr al-Qamar where he remained twenty-three days in peril [of being taken] until the well-known lord of excellent repute, 'Abd'al-Fattāḥ Agha Ḥamādah, appeared by order of the commander-in-chief,⁵⁵ and rescued him, protecting him from this [the disaffected nobles'] crowd. And in connection [with this affair] he [the 'Amīr Bashīr Qāsim] was dismissed from

⁵² His embarking on the English man-of-war that brought him to Malta after his having been deposed by the Porte, was not an altogether voluntary act.

⁵³ Arrogant, supercilious and lacking in almost all the qualities of a good ruler, Bashīr Qāsim Shihāb was a poor substitute for his predecessor, the last great prince of Mount Lebanon. The only bright side we find noted of his short administration is the interest he took in the silk industry.

⁵⁴ I. e. politics in the Aristotelian sense: the science of the right ruling of men and nations.

⁵⁵ The word *mushir*, used in the text, has, like *Saraī*, several meanings in both the Arabic language and the Turkish which adopted it and makes it serve different purposes; cf. A. C. BARBIER DE MEYNARD, *Dictionnaire Turc-Français*. It refers here to the commander of the army-corps with headquarters at Damascus, that of 'Arabistān, then the fifth, later the eighth. Sometimes this Seraskier's duties and those belonging to the office of Wāly or Governor-General of the province of Damascus were confided to one person of high military rank as in the case of the notorious Ahmad Pasha who figures conspicuously in the following narrative.

the government of the Mount.⁵⁶ And the first occasion for the occurrence of hostility between (P. 20) Christians and Druzes fell in this time. [It happened] that Ibrāhīm Pasha,⁵⁷ the Egyptian of high condition, who had conquered towns and countries, and had dispersed with the edge of his sharp sword [many] troops of horsemen, entertained a wish. He desired [namely] an army of Druzes and

⁵⁶ The trouble on account of which the 'Amīr Bashīr Qāsim was deposed, had its immediate cause in one of the earlier attempts of the Maronites to lord it over the Druzes, the Maronite patriarch, namely, having sent a circular letter to his lower clergy which instigated them to encroachments upon the rights of the Druse aristocracy. The encounter which resulted in the first siege of Dayr al-Qamar, here spoken of, took place on the 14th of September, 1841. After the dismissal from office of the last Shihābite governor, January, 1842, the Porte summoned him to Constantinople, 'Umar Pasha being put in his place, as already mentioned. Later on Baashir Qāsim was allowed to return to the Lebanon on a pension of £5 a month. Eighty-five years old and blind, he met his death at the time of the troubles which form the subject of our author's book, as related in the London *Times* of July 27, 1860: "While being led away from his house by his servants he was attacked. His servants fled and left him. The marauders cut his throat and hacked the body with their swords."

⁵⁷ Not an adopted son of Muhammad 'Aly, Pasha of Egypt, as we find often stated, but his second child by his first wife: "Having seen it asserted in the speeches of some French Deputies, that Ibrahim Pasha was only the adopted son of Mehemet Ali, I mentioned it to him, and asked him if Ibrahim Pasha was his own son or if he was the son of his wife by a former husband. The Pasha replied, that his wife never had any other husband but himself, and that she bore to him five children, all born at Cavalla in Roumelia, the native town of himself and of his wife. That the eldest child, a female, who has been dead for some years, was the wife of Moharam Bey (now here). Ibrahim Pasha was the second, and the others were Toussoon Pasha and Ismael Pasha (both dead), and Nayli Hanim, the widow of the late Desteretan. The Pasha added, that all his other children were the offspring of separate and different mothers." Letter of Colonel Campbell to Viscount Palmerston, dated Alexandria, July 30, 1841, *Correspondence relative to Affairs of the Levant*, presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, 1841, Part I, Nr 257. "Perhaps it is not generally known," said Mr John Barker, English consul at Aleppo, in a letter to Mr James Calvert at Malta, "that Ibrahim Pacha was of superior rank to his father, Meh'med Ali, being Pacha of the Holy Cities, which is considered the first Pachalic in the Empire; that of Damascus is second, because the Pacha is Emeer il Hadje; that of Bagdad, as the outpost on the Persian frontier, is the third; and the Pachalic of Egypt is the fourth. This rank was granted to Ibrahim because he had conquered the Wahabee—a fanatical sect of Arabs—, reconquered from them the Holy Cities, Mecca and Medina, and sent their chief, Abdallah Ibn Saoud, to Constantinople where he was beheaded on the 19th November, 1819." BARKER, *op. cit.*, II, 119. Ibrāhīm Pasha is described as follows by Stratford Canning in a letter to his wife: "Figure to yourself a fat, short man, sitting like a Christian with his legs down, a large, clear blue eye, a high forehead, a brownish reddish beard straggling from beneath a face marked with small-pox, and the whole appearance, in spite of shortness and corpulency, that of an active, intelligent man full of enterprize, subject to humours good and bad and eager for instruction." POOLE, *op. cil.*, I, 469.

these showed themselves rebellious [against that ideal], which occasioned much friction among them in the Wādy at-Taym and Ḥaurān. And at this juncture he [Ibrāhīm Pasha] asked the Christians to serve him in the predicament so created, and they responded with alacrity to his purpose,⁵⁸ and plundered a wealthy retired place [Druze sanctuary] in the Wādy at-Taym, which possessed many images of calves⁵⁹ and books concerning [the Druze] religion. And [in this manner] they revealed the secrets of their [the Druze] religion that had remained concealed for hundreds of years, which was a thing bitter to their [the Druzes'] taste and a misfortune not to be borne. (P. 21) And after this incident had occurred, he [Ibrāhīm Pasha] took their weapons from them [the Druzes] throughout the country and armed

⁵⁸ Ibrāhīm Pasha tried, in fact, to play the Christians out against the Druzes, who refused to serve in the Egyptian as later in the Turkish army. Hence the expeditions started in 1835 and 1852 to coerce them, in both of which they gave a good account of themselves. Cf PETERMANN, *op. cit.*, I, 77 ff, PORTER, *op. cit.*, I, 373 ff, and OPPENHEIM, *op. cit.*, I, 103, 109. To quote the latter: "Als aber die Expansionspolitik der Egypter Ibrahim Pasha im Norden weiter vorsugehen zwang, wurden hierfür immer mehr Gelder und Menschen notwendig. Der Steuerhebung fügten sich die Bewohner des Libanons, aber die Ankündigung dass sie zum Dienst in den regulären Truppen der Egypter herausgezogen werden sollten, rief eine ungeheure Aufregung unter Drusen und Maroniten hervor. Ibrahim bereitete daher eine allgemeine Entwaffnung der Bevölkerung vor. Beschir liess zunächst die Maroniten durch die Drusen entwaffen, denen versprochen würde, dass sie ihre Waffen behalten dürften. Aber kaum war die Entwaffnung der Christen durchgeführt, als egyptische Truppen im Libanon erschienen und die Drusen zwangen ihre Gewehre auszuliefern, wobei die Maroniten Kundschafter und Angeberdienste leisteten. Die wehrlosen Gebirgsbewohner werden nunmehr von den Steuerhebern in einer so brutalen Weise ausgebeutet dass bald an allen Ecken des Libanons Revolten ausbrachen. Auf Beschir's Rat bewaffnete jetzt Ibrahim die Maroniten gegen die Drusen und wenn auch die Drusen den Christen an Kriegstüchtigkeit und Tapferkeit bedeutend überlegen waren, so müssten sie dennoch der Übermacht der vereinigten egyptischen und Maronitischen Waffen im westlichen Syrien weichen und sich unterwerfen." CHURCH-ILL, *op. cit.*, II, 312, says: "The valour which they displayed in the Houran, at the period of the Egyptian conscription in the year 1839, may challenge comparison with the most exalted deeds of heroism on record. Eight hundred Druses not only defeated but absolutely annihilated upwards of fifteen thousand men of Ibrahim Pasha's best troops." Thirteen and fourteen years later they behaved with equal courage and determination against the Turks and meanwhile the attitude of the Christians was not forgotten as the sequel will show.

⁵⁹ The alleged worship of the calf by the Druzes and other practices in their secret meetings, have given rise to a good many tales and speculations. As regards the first named item of their ritual, if they observe any, the generally accepted opinion appears now to be that of SILVESTRE DE SACY who suspected, *op. cit.*, I, 232, "que la prétendue idole des Druzes était, au contraire [i. e. instead of an image of Hākim in the form of the young animal named] l'emblème d'Iblis, de l'ennemi ou du rival de Hakem."

the Christians [with those confiscated Druze weapons], which increased the bad feeling that of old existed between them. Then the government passed out of the hands of the 'Amīr Bashīr the Second and Ibrāhīm Pasha departed from 'Arabistān; and the 'Amīr Bashīr the Third was invested [with the government], he who lacked both the ability and the [personal] dignity [to fill such a high position]. So they [the Druzes] began to plan his ruin and the ruin of the Christian people. In this design they were assisted by some men [partisans because functionaries⁶⁰] of the [Ottoman] Empire out of hatred against the Christians since these latter stood in with the French. Whereupon happened what happened of killing of men and carrying away of booty and burning of villages. Now when the 'Amīr Bashīr the Third had been divested of the exercise of authority, as mentioned before, 'Umar Pasha al-Majary⁶¹ arrived (P. 22) and took the government upon him in the place of the Shihābite 'amīrs. This was in the year eighteen hundred and forty-two of the Christian Era. And at that time the Druzes rebelled against the aforesaid Pasha and they did not submit again to his authority nor did they trust him, becoming companions [closely united] in words and deeds. Hence the government of the Mount belonged to 'Umar Pasha only in name, which distressed him so much that he summoned the [leaders of the] disaffected to his tribunal and seized a number of them and sent them to Bayrūt with an escort detached from his guard of armed attendants, which moved a crowd of Druzes to rise against him on the spot, with the result that between them a conflict took place. The Christians ran to his ['Umar Pasha's] assistance and made them [the Druzes] taste evil consequences, dispersing them in the valleys and on the Mount.⁶² And when that which had happened to the people came to the knowledge of the Governor-General at Bayrūt (P. 23), he sent that same day [a messenger] to 'Umar Pasha, calling him back because he did not wish the Druzes to be humiliated to this extent, in order that the Christians

⁶⁰ Bread and butter patriots of the type found everywhere.

⁶¹ The Hungarian.

⁶² The Druzes accused 'Umar Pasha of favoring the Christians and marched up to attack him. But they were outnumbered by a force of Turkish and Albanian troops, not of Christians as our author avers, the only auxiliaries of the latter "nation" at 'Umar's disposal being a body of Maronite cavalry. After standing their ground with great courage the Druzes suffered defeat. Those of their leaders that fell into 'Umar's hands, were sent to prison in Bayrūt; those that escaped, fled to Ḥaurān; cf OPPENHEIM, *op. cit.*, I, 161.

might not gain the upper hand over them and their power dwindle down to extinction.⁶³ And those who led the disaffected, their principal men at that time, were the Sheikh Sa'yd Janblāṭ and the 'Amīr Amin Raslān and the Sheikh Khaṭṭār al-'Amād and the Sheikh Qāsim and the Sheikh Bashir an-Nakadiyān and the Sheikh Ḥusayn Talḥūq and the Sheikh Yūsuf 'Abd'al-Malik and the Sheik 'Uthmān Abū 'Alwān and besides these [just] mentioned, the 'Amīr Muḥammad, son of the 'Amīr Amin, who was a man of high purpose and great wisdom, without an equal in polite accomplishments and of a pleasant disposition, exceptionally well-informed in the sciences and [the correct use of] language. (P. 24) Of him the poet gives as his opinion:

The angels [of the Throne] come forth with a greeting to ♦ Muḥammad and the favor of the Merciful follows him.

Acute of intellect, he has been coveting perfections of the mind [though] he united them in himself, ♦ but not coveting dinars and gathering them.

May time restore to him the glory of ancient days as ♦ to the descendant of al-Kindy his coats of mail were restored!⁶⁴

And he who repays to men that with which he has been entrusted, ♦ may time pay to him that which he has entrusted to it.

Thou seest when the envious wish evil to befall a man, ♦ seeking his humiliation, that God exalts him.

When God decides upon a thing, it cannot be hindered; and if ♦ He grants a gift, who on earth can prevent Him?

The wealthiest of them [the leaders of the disaffected] was the Sheikh Sa'yd Janblāṭ, who counted with them as belonging to [one of] their greatest families. And the one reputed to be of the highest valor among them was the Sheikh Khaṭṭār, and the one of the most

⁶³ The Governor-General at Bayrūt acted probably according to instructions from Constantinople, inspired by British influence which was exercised in behalf of the Druzes. We read already in a letter from Lord Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby, dated Foreign Office, April 21, 1840: "I have to instruct your Excellency to endeavour at the proper time to persuade the Porte to give to the Druzes such privileges and exemptions as may satisfy their reasonable desires." *Correspondence relative to Affairs of the Levant*, presented to both houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, 1841, Part I, Nr 549.

⁶⁴ A reference to the five coats of mail confided by Imru 'u'l-Qays, the Kindite, to Samaw'al Ibn'Adiyā, which the latter, rather than break his pledge and give up property held in trust for a guest, refused to deliver to Hārith Ibn Zālim, commander of an army of the former's old enemy, the King of Ḫira, though he knew that his refusal meant the death of his son.

compassionate character was the Sheikh Bashir, and the one most conspicuous for his sagacity was the Sheikh Husayn, their support [on whom they relied] for counsel and guidance. And in the year 1844 the Christians and Druzes began again to fight each other, according to their custom. And on this (P. 25) occasion the Christians were victorious and burned many villages of the Shūf in the course of one day, and during the continuation of the war it went on like this at Zahlah⁶⁵ and in the Matn and in the Gharb. And the authority of the government stretched out its hand to the war in the Shūf and interfered between the contending bands, and compelled the Christians to stop. And Muṣṭafa Pasha,⁶⁶ commander of the army, went out in the direction of the Gharb and forced the Christians to return [home] and they disbanded the [armed] gangs which they had with them. And when for a while the country had been without a governor, Shakib Effendy⁶⁷ arrived from Constantinople, to divide it, in obedience to imperial orders, into two parts. The 'Amīr Haydar Abu'l-Lama'⁶⁸ was put in charge of the Christians on the northern side, and the 'Amīr Raslān'⁶⁹ of the Druzes on the southern side. So, in this manner, the affairs of the country were (P. 26) settled for a space of years. Yet, the [mutual] hatred hidden in the hearts of the companions of calamities, did not cease [to exist] so that between them [Christians and Druzes] it came to a conflict at Bayt Mary⁷⁰ in the

⁶⁵ An almost wholly Christian town which owed its prosperity to Armenian and Greek settlers from Damascus and Homs, who strangely repaid the tolerant attitude towards their religion shown by the Turks. Cf DE LAMARTINE and BURCKHARDT. Zahlah is situated on the brow of a hill in a wooded country and thrives on many industries. Among other religious establishments it possessed in 1860 a convent of the Jesuits and was in that region the chief station of the Lazarists.

⁶⁶ The author means probably the Extraordinary Commissioner of that name, sent by the Porte to inquire into the causes of the disturbances in the opening years of the 'forties.

⁶⁷ Another Extraordinary Commissioner sent by the Porte to restore order in the chaos created by European interference in the affairs of Mount Lebanon.

⁶⁸ The Abu'l-Lama' family belonged to the most influential in the Matn and had been converted to Christianity. Haydar Ismā'il died in 1854 and was succeeded by Bashir Ahmad of the same house, whose appointment caused a good deal of friction, not only in native circles but also between the French and British governments.

⁶⁹ The 'Amīr Ahmad 'Abbās Raslān who, however, a few years later at the occasion of new troubles between Druzes and Maronites, was deposed by Shakib Effendy and replaced by the more intelligent Amin of the same family. Amin died in 1859 and was succeeded by his son Muhammad, whose praise has been sung on the preceding page, a scholar, educated in the European way, but no man of action.

⁷⁰ Nine miles East of Bayrūt on the road to the Maronite monastery Dayr al-Qal'a, a name derived from its having been built on the foundations of an old temple dedicated

year eighteen hundred and fifty-nine.⁷¹ Twelve men of the Christians were killed and about twenty of the Druzes, though they [the latter] were greatly in the majority since [a number of sympathisers] from families in the neighborhood had joined them. So their disdain [for a supposed weaker enemy] had played them a trick, the pride of their state of ignorance⁷² having turned their heads. And they began to watch their chance to remove what was with them of obstruction in the throat [to give vent to their choking rage]. And the governor of the province of Bayrūt⁷³ was Muḥammad Khūrshīd Pasha, the most strenuous of men [a zealot] in the [Muhammadan] faith. And he surpassed them all in detestation of the Christians and sided with the Druzes in bringing about the ruin of that nation (P. 27). And he began to cheer them up by strengthening their hearts and raising their spirits, but [this was only a pretence for] he feigned solicitude for [their] security while he incited to contention. And he repaired to Bayt Mary and remained there several days. Now the Sheikh Yūsuf 'Abd'al-Malik had attacked some villages in the Matn and burnt down the houses and carried off the [movable] possessions [of the inhabitants]. So Khūrshīd Pasha left a squad of irregular troops in Bayt Mary and went to al-Mudayrij as if he wished to set the matter right, and he sent men who appraised [the value of] what had been burnt down and ascertained [the value of] what had been carried off [the one and the other] amounting to twenty-nine thousand piastres. But they [the sufferers] received only a small part [of that sum] and the remainder was lost under the excuse of tax gathering [kept on the pretext of its being held for the payment of taxes]. Thereupon the Pasha returned to Bayt Mary where the Druzes were in secret correspondence with him (P. 28) and in nightly and daily intercourse, and after he had gained his end, he returned to Bayrūt, the station

to the "lord of the dancing festivals," Jovi Balmarodi, which the Arabs took for a stronghold. Cf VON KREMER, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

⁷¹ August 30. The affray started in consequence of a quarrel between a Druze and a Christian boy about a chicken, as the trouble of 1841 began with a dispute about the shooting of a partridge. Cf CHURCHILL, *op. cit.*, II, 306, and IV, 132, and JESSUP, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

⁷² Or barbarism: another Muhammadan formula pressed into Christian service. Cf IGNACZ GOLDZIHER, *Muhammedanische Studien*, I, 219, *Was ist unter "Al-Gahiliyya" zu verstehen?*

⁷³ That is, the province of Saydā, which had Bayrūt for its capital.

[capital] of his province. And on the ninth day⁷⁴ of March of the year eighteen hundred and sixty, the monk Athanasius⁷⁵ was killed, who was the superior of the convent of 'Ammīq⁷⁶ and belonged to a Greek Catholic religious order. And his murderer was a man of the Druzes of Kafr Qatrāh,⁷⁷ named Muḥy ad-Dīn Abu Tīn,⁷⁸ but at that moment the murderer was not known. The Christians being roused to anger, complained of their case to the Pasha and the consuls, and the Pasha promised them a strict investigation and rigorous punishment, but by skillful manipulation the matter was kept dragging along between nights and days [indefinitely]. Meanwhile one of the Druzes was killed in an inn, named the Khān ash-Shyāh,⁷⁹ and his murderer was not known because he had been killed at night and remained (P. 29) forsaken [undiscovered] until morning. And they [the Druzes] suspected the Christians of having murdered him as the Christians suspected them of having murdered the superior of the convent of 'Ammīq. So they began to kill every one they met in a lonely place or on the road and in course of time this thing took [such proportions] between the [marauding] bands that the roads and paths became quite unsafe and the dangerous and perilous places were many. Now there lived in the country of Ḥaurān a man of mighty heart and eloquent tongue. Prominent among his equals [in rank], a companion [possessor] of flocks and domestics, servants and attendants, he belonged to the notable Druzes in that region, who had great faith in him. His name was Ismā'il al-Āṭrash and in courage and strength he was

⁷⁴ The seventh day of March according to the evidence produced at the alleged murderer's trial.

⁷⁵ Athanasius Naūm, killed by strangulation.

⁷⁶ To the West of Dayr al-Qamar near the Nahr ad-Dāmūr.

⁷⁷ Also situated in the Muṇāqīf.

⁷⁸ In the papers concerning his trial, ordered at the instance of Khūry Augustin, Athanasius Naūm's successor as superior of the convent of 'Ammīq, he was called Mahī ad-Dīn Shibly. Though he denied to the last being guilty of the murder and the theft of some of the wealthy monk's money and valuables, and no sufficient evidence of his connection with the crime seems to have been produced, he was condemned to death because several Christians declared that during the subsequent sack of Dayr al-Qamar they saw him in one of the plundering bands.

⁷⁹ Called Khānu'l-Kas'a in the Druze account of the events which precipitated the civil war, presented as an appendix to the petition, dated August 17, 1860, of the gentry and commonalty of the Druze nation to H. M. Queen Victoria. The victim was a Druze muleteer, whom a posse of Maronites fired upon as he slept, then cut into pieces with their swords and left "strewed about."

like the speckled wolf. When now [the aspect of the relations] between the [several] religious communities in the Mount had become grave and (P. 30) the live coals of dissension began to glow and blaze, the Druzes [of the Mount] sent him a messenger and urged him to come to them, requesting his help and assistance [adding] that all of them guaranteed the people to be as one hand [of one mind in their determination] to fight. And after he had occupied himself with their letter and understood the meaning of their address, he answered their call by accepting it [consented to their request]. So he sent [word] to them, saying that he would come to them with men on foot and men on horseback and [all] valiant heroes. And when this answer reached them and they realised the gist of [his] communication, their breasts expanded and their backs stiffened, and that same day they commenced to complete their preparations, rejoicing in [their] success and the attainment of their desire.

(P. 31) SECOND CHAPTER

Narrative of the troubles and disturbances which occurred in al-Matn and as-Sahil.

When the consuls of the Powers at Bayrūt saw this mischief growing, they considered it probable that there would be war in the country and they desired of Khürshid Pasha [some] despatch in the extinction of the fire of discord before its flaming up. And replying to them with regard to this demand, he promised them to go himself and take the direction of the affair. And on the twenty-eighth day of May of the year eighteen hundred and sixty of the Christian Era, which concurs with the year twelve hundred and seventy-six since the Flight,⁸⁰ he sent to al-Hāzmiyah⁸¹ about five hundred [men] of the

⁸⁰ The Muhammadan year 1276 began on July 31, 1859.

⁸¹ Al-Hāzmiyah is situated about three miles from Bayrūt on the road to Damascus and about half that distance beyond "the grove" (of pines) planted by the famous Fakhr ad-Din to protect the city against the sand blown towards it from the arid plain between the coast and the foot of the hills. Known for centuries as the last resting-place of the learned Fāris ash-Shidyāq, it now contains also the grave of Franco Nasry Pasha, the second governor of the Lebanon under the new régime, who died February 11, 1873.

regular army and two hundred Bāshā Buzuqs,⁸² and with them four cannon. (P. 32) And on the second day he set out for the aforementioned place, leaving his secretary in charge of the affairs of the province during his absence, having previously made his arrangements with the Druzes. So he left that he might back his words with deeds. Now the people of Kasruān⁸³ were settled in Northern Lebanon. They had risen against their chiefs of the Banū al-Khāzin⁸⁴ and driven them thence, keeping what landed property and estates they possessed, and elected [to power] Tānyūs Ibn Shāhin al-Baytār⁸⁵ and appointed him commander of that territory. And when he heard of the mischief [brewing] in the region of ash-Shūf, he sent to offer the inhabitants [his co-religionists of the Shūf] a troop of fighting men from that [his own] region. And they answered him that when necessity called for it, they would request his assistance. But he did not wait for such a request and arrived with a crowd [of followers] (P. 33) at the village of Antalyās, whence he sent to Ba'abdā about five hundred men who alighted at the house of the 'Amīr Qays ash-Shihāb and foregathered with their confederates and adherents they found inside. So the Pasha sent word to the 'Amīr Qays [commanding him] to dismiss whoever was with him of the [Kasruānese] crowd because of their cutting the lines of communication. And he [the 'Amīr Qays] answered: I hear and I obey, ordering them to depart immediately.⁸⁶ As regards

⁸² More correctly *bāshy būzūqs*, "topsy-turvy-heads," people whose heads are upside down, whose habits are not normal or orderly, irregulars; see BARBIER DE MEYNARD, *op. cit.*, and N. MALLOUF, *Dictionnaire Turc-Français*.

⁸³ The Castravan of the crusaders.

⁸⁴ A Christian family, of old under the protection of France and hand in glove with the Jesuits of the famous college of Antūra which was founded either in 1628 by Father Machaire of Gien (F. C. HUART, *La France et le Liban, Journal des Savants*, Juillet-Août, 1919) or in 1656 by a certain Father Benedictus, or Mubaraq by his native name, who, while in Europe, had taught Arabic and other oriental languages in Florence and the university of Pisa. Cf R. RISTELHUEBER, *Une Page Inédite de l'Histoire du Protectorat Français en Orient, Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, XXIX, 4 & 5, 1915. Predominant in Kasruān, the Banū al-Khāzin presumed upon their feudal rights, oppressing the people who in 1858, excited by the new ideas which began to disturb the social relations of Mount Lebanon, chased the Khāzinite sheikhs away and reconstituted the administration of their district on republican principles.

⁸⁵ Ringleader in the revolt which changed Kasruān into a sort of Maronite commonwealth. Since 1858 at the head of affairs among his people, he precipitated the troubles of 1860 by crossing the border and invading the Matn with an armed band of three hundred men.

⁸⁶ How they obeyed that order can be read on p. 38 of the text.

the Druzes, when they saw that the Pasha had marched out with the army, they knew that the compact between them and him was to bear fruit [which knowledge] steadied their resolve, making their hearts [firm] like mountains. And lo! the Druzes of Bayt Mary had practised deceit for a year past. Neither delay nor feigned indifference had made them swerve [from their intention] and that [same] night they rushed the Christians who had wished to take (P. 34) blood-revenge. But the Christians overcame and routed them and set fire to their houses. And this was on the twenty-ninth day of the month of May.⁸⁷ And there was a detachment⁸⁸ of the irregular troops which had remained after the Pasha's return to Bayrūt in the past year. And with the Druzes they rose against the Christians, and began to kill of the men whomever they caught and to burn [their] houses down. Then the Druzes, bracing up, returned from their flight and all the inhabitants, their neighbors, joined them and [together] they routed the Christians, who abandoned their houses to the flames and their possessions to plunder. In this affray fourteen of their men were killed and of the Druzes eighteen besides seven wounded. And as regards the people of as-Sāhil, when they rose in the morning they heard no sooner of the dreadful things that had happened at Bayt (P. 35) Mary, than, each looking after his own family and belongings, they took these to Bayrūt in order to steer clear of fighting. Only a few men remained in the villages. Then Khürshid Pasha ordered cannon to be fired, summoning the Druzes according to promise. So the 'Amīr Muhammad Qāsim Raslān and the Sheikh Husayn Talhūq descended [from the mountains, taking] with them fifteen hundred men who were waiting [for the summons] and all prepared, part of them travelling to the Wādy Shāhrūr and Baṭshayh while the main body advanced toward Ba'abdā and Sabnayh. So the Christians hastened to meet them in battle, being well content to encounter them. But the hamlets and towns [of that district] mustered no more than six hundred men of them. And when man drew near (P. 36) unto man, the fight entangled them and the fires of war began to kindle. And within a short time of the day [day's fighting]

⁸⁷ The date is also given as May 30, 1860.

⁸⁸ *Bayraq*, a word of Turkish origin as many others connected with war and warriors. Lit. a flag, banner, standard; by metonymy, as in some other languages, a troop of soldiers fighting under one such symbol of the cause they serve.

the band of Christians wavered and became confused, getting bewildered and stunned, so that they were unable to persevere and swerved from right to left. And they retreated, wishing flight [trying to save themselves] but were routed in the worst of routs. And the Druzes entered the aforesaid villages and burned [the houses] down and plundered and pillaged, and seized whatever they fancied. Thereupon they descended [from the highlands] to al-Hadath and were met by a party of the irregular troops and a crowd of people from the Shūf and they carried off all [they could lay their hands on] and burned many houses. And from there the Druzes returned [home], but the irregular troops began [i. e. continued] the onslaught and the raising of fire, and despoiled whomever they found on their way (P. 37) till they came to the environs of Bayrūt. And the tents of the Pasha were enveloped in smoke,⁸⁹ and he said: Well done, my fine Druze fellows! And in this encounter thirteen Druzes were killed and twenty-five Christians who also had four [men] wounded. And among the number of the killed was the 'Amīr 'Abbās, son of the 'Amīr Salmān ash-Shihāb. Also the 'Amīr Bashīr the Third,⁹⁰ the last [of his house] invested with the highest power in the Mount as has been told in the beginning of this book. And the 'Amīr Muḥammad Amīn Raslān, previous mention of whom has been made, was with a party of the bands when, alighting at Bir al-Warwār, he saw a conflagration spreading in a village for which he was personally responsible, and he ran up to it himself and extinguished the fire. And from there he turned (P. 38) toward the other villages in as-Sāhil, which were not under the special protection of the sheikhs and princes [of the land]. And he appointed to them guardians who were to protect them against [any] iniquitous raid, enjoining [these guardians] not to oppress the inhabitants in anything even if it were the smallest of things. So they were safe from plunder and arson, and the inhabitants [of those villages] rendered him increasing praise and invocation [invoked God's blessing upon him]. As regards the Druzes, when they learned those things, they advanced [on that district] and burned down a public inn. And [spreading] from there, the hostilities between the [contending] bands involved al-Matn and the fire blazed up in the houses of the noble-born. As regards the Kasruānese crowd, some of them

⁸⁹ This points to Khürshid Pasha still being with the troops he had sent to al-Hāzmiyah.

⁹⁰ Cf Note 56.

crossed the border of al-Matn after their departure from Ba'abdā, and the war between them and the Druzes was kindled with respect to matters of religion. (P. 39) Between horsemen and men battling on foot, the Druzes numbered about five hundred warriors, and the people from Kasruān about three hundred [fighting] men, to whom a few more of the inhabitants of as-Sāhil [had joined themselves]. So the bands engaged in a [new] affray and the affair grew in importance, striking one with awe. And bitterness opened [its petals] and death drew near. And the Christians gave battle on that day and persevered, and were steadfast without hanging back, and their zeal did not diminish in the least nor did [any of them] lag behind. And the Druzes began to roll down upon them boulders and stones but they did not cease to persist in facing [all] dangers for four hours of the day and did not cease to grapple and struggle. And the Christians pressed them [the Druzes] with the utmost pertinacity until they had driven them from their position on the battlefield. And some [of the Christians] followed them [the Druzes] to fall upon them (P. 40) with swords and [other] destructive weapons. And information [of these happenings] having reached the Druzes of al-Jurd, they hastened [to their co-religionists' rescue] and rushed down upon them [the Christians] with about four hundred men, like a cloud heavy with rain. And the Christians, seeing the great number of those marching upon them, became afraid for themselves and retraced their steps, desisting [from further pursuit]. Of the Christians nineteen were killed on that day and of the Druzes thirty. And from there the Druzes spread [over the country] plundering and burning the villages of al-Matn. This business continued for days and in these encounters [acts of devastation] the Druzes burned down seventeen [inhabited] places among the villages and hamlets [of al-Matn]. Thereupon they burned in the remaining places such houses as belonged to Christians and many others too. And among the Christians of Kasruān rose discord and dissension after this [their former] concord (P. 41) and good understanding. They disagreed in their counsels and [in their ideas] on the conduct of affairs, and the one who had received commands became commander. And they felt disinclined to war and battle, and refrained from sudden attacks and sallies, and kept quiet, remaining at home after they had drawn their swords in [open] rebellion.

Nor did they occupy themselves with what [the affairs that] occupied the other peoples of the Lebanon. And this change was most fortunate for the Druzes and of the greatest help and assistance to them.

THIRD CHAPTER

Narrative of the treachery and deceit suffered by the people of ad-Dubbīyah and Mu'allaqat ad-Dāmūr.

And it had reached the inhabitants of ad-Dubbīyah¹¹ and of the hamlets around that place (P. 42) what horrible and abominable things were enacted in as-Sāhil, which made them afraid of the consequences of these happenings. So they rose and went with their families and flocks to Mu'allaqat ad-Dāmūr,¹² and congregated in that place until an order came instructing them to break up as evenly as possible. Now Bishop Tūbiyā¹³ had there a Maronite assistant, one of his relatives, so when he learnt of the terrible and calamitous things which had happened in as-Sāhil, he sent word to transport them [his assistant and other relatives and friends] to Bayrūt in some boats.¹⁴ And when the people gathered there [at Mu'allaqat ad-Dāmūr] saw this, they were afraid of what might be their own fate in the [their] perilous plight. But they had no opportunity for travel by sea and, hoping to make the voyage to Bayrūt by land, prepared themselves accordingly for the journey that selfsame day. And in the evening, when the moon was shining, they began to move with their families and flocks to the sea-coast. (P. 43) And their aforesaid departure took place on the second day after the fire-raising in Ba'abdā and [the] Wādy Shahrūr. And there was a man of the people of al-Nā'ymah, named Hasan Darkūbah, who knew of their setting out, and he sent a message acquainting with it a man, named Husayn Yūnus, of the Druzes of Dayr Qūbah. And the aforesaid

¹¹ In the Munāṣif.

¹² I. e. al-Mu'allaqat on the Nahr ad-Dāmūr, the ancient Tamyras, not to be confounded with the Moslim village al-Mu'allaqat near Zahlah on the road to Damascus.

¹³ The Maronite Bishop of Bayrūt, who in sinister influence, as Lord Dufferin called it (letter of December 19, 1860, to Lord Russell), excelled even the rest of the Maronite clergy, which is saying a good deal.

¹⁴ Descending the Nahr ad-Dāmūr to the sea and then coasting to Bayrūt.

Husayn collected men and sent to pass his information to Bashāmūn and from there the report spread to Aramūn. And about one hundred and fifty men gathered together on foot and on horseback, and they put themselves in ambush in a wood on the side of the road, called the wood of the eagles. And when they [the Christians] drew near, the [Druze] men fell upon them unawares, and riddled them with bullets to despatch them quickly. And those of them that were in the rear, turned back, but those that remained of them [had to remain because too far advanced to retire] became all entangled in the battle waged on (P. 44) this desert plain. And when the Druzes of the Shūf heard the noise of the gunpowder increasing, they descended like ravening wolves, and the inhabitants of the villages in the neighborhood followed them, and it took no longer than about half an hour before more than six hundred men drew together in that place, who encompassed them [the Christians] on all sides and closed them in [shutting them off] from the roads and passes. And between them the flame of war blazed up, and thrust succeeded blow, and misfortune increased grief. And the men struggled and pursued one another, and defended themselves and battled together, and the women shrieked and wailed, and the children cried and ran about. And the dead bodies dropped upon this desert plain like leaves [falling] from the trees. And the noise of the gunpowder [was] like thunderbolts and the clamor of the men (P. 45) like the rumbling of heaven. And at one time they [the Christians] did not cease to defend themselves and their families by discharging bullets [from the fire-arms they carried], and then again they advanced in the direction of Bayrūt, seeking safety, until the morning dawned. And its light rose and shone, driving off from them their foes, and they seized the opportunity for a supreme effort, and so they reached the city, though in an exceedingly bad plight because that night they had taken the measure of [endured] terrible things. Forty-three of their men were killed and some of their women and babies. And of the Druzes thirteen were killed in this encounter. And eight or nine of them were wounded. And at a certain moment a Druze on the battlefield laid hold of one of the Christians and they clinched and threw each other and got up again and did not cease their mutual assaults, (P. 46) keeping close together until they reached the seashore where they tumbled into the water and yet they continued their fight. And while this was going

on, a huge wave came and carried them out of their depth and drowned them both. And in the morning they were found dead on the beach still clutching each other.¹ And at the moment [of their being found] some men of the Christians of as-Şāhil were present and they buried the lifeless bodies in the sand. And as they went away, they took refuge with God concerning this matter. And as regards the rest of the inhabitants of ad-Dubliyah who were saved from the fangs of death, having managed that night for the space of six hours to repel with their little band such a [large, hostile] crowd, when they arrived at Bayrūt they were like dead people having only the appearance of life, without means of subsistence or clothes or carpets [bedding] or [any kind of] covering. (P. 47) So they laid them down on the ground with the heavens to cover them, looking for pity at the hands of the people of Bayrūt, who brought to them such food as they had ready. And meanwhile the Druzes enjoyed the use of their possessions [of which] they had been robbed. And they [the Christians] [had to] let them [the Druzes] enjoy their plunder, they themselves measuring [experiencing] the pains of distress. And many of them longed to satisfy [their hunger and thirst] with bread and water. And then the French nation provided them and those of the population of as-Şāhil who were in the like straits, with what they needed to subsist in the shape of eatables and clothes and bedding. And they continued to receive these gifts as long as it pleased the God of [all] time.

(P. 48) FOURTH CHAPTER

Narrative of the heart-rending trials that befell the people of the district of Jazzīn and of at-Tuffāḥ and al-Kharnūb.

When [the news of] what had happened in the neighborhood of Bayrūt in the matter of spoliation and ruin, reached the inhabitants of Jazzīn and [the rest of] the population of those districts [to the South], they grew afraid of a sudden attack of the Druzes upon themselves and prepared to repulse whoever might come [to raid] them. And when the Sheikh Janblāṭ learnt of their preparations and fierce disposition, he communicated with them, the contents of the letter which his

messenger bore [advising them] to remain quietly in their houses and not to make any movement that might affect the [public] safety and order, in which case he guaranteed to them protection and freedom from molestation and made himself responsible for the prevention of any hostile act committed by any (P. 49) enemy. And when they had finished reading his letter and understood the meaning of his despatch, they felt secure to the utmost limit of security as if their safety were now beyond question, and every one of them went about his business, full of confidence, relying upon his written word, trusting in what he had told them. And while in their good faith they neglected all caution, the Druzes of ash-Shūf surprised them with fifteen hundred men, arriving in that locality in the afternoon of a Friday in the beginning of the month of June. Part of them, [numbering] about seven hundred men, rushed on to Bakāsīn, but the rest of the main body advanced toward Jazzīn. And most of the villagers were [at work] in their fields and gardens. And Abū Samrā' of Bakāsīn with two hundred men of the possessors of indignation [at their being betrayed] met the first [mentioned] band. And they became commingled in fight at a place called al-Ghabātīyah. And (P. 50) Abū Samrā' was of the stallions among men [a man of might], a gallant commander, as he proved to them by [his] courage and bravery in the pressure of the mêlée. So he threw them [the Druzes] back with the throwing back of an overbearing tyrant [audacious violence]. And the engagement between them lasted about an hour and a half of the rest of the day. And the Druzes retreated and, in their desire to escape, turned toward the land of Khafishah and its vicinity after four of their men had been killed. And the people of Bātir took one of their banners.^{**} And of the Christians only a minor was killed. Thereupon the routed Druzes again drew together and, taking heart, advanced in a body. And a crowd from the villages in the neighborhood joined them. And with this increased multitude they fell upon the Christians and reversed [the condition of affairs], routing them [who now] had to seek salvation [in flight]. And slaughtering them, the Druzes followed them to (P. 51) Bakāsīn and in a very short time

^{**} "On going to war, the banner of the clan is brought forth with much pomp and intrusted to the keeping of a select band, renowned for their bravery, and commanded by a veteran called the *Baracdar*. The colours of these standards are various, red and green being the most in use." CHURCHILL, *op. cit.*, II, 300/1.

carried off their flocks of sheep and goats, and herds of kine, whereupon they burned the village down and left it as a warning to the beholder. And concerning the other Druzes who had marched upon Jazzīn, about three hundred men of the Christians of that borough and places in its neighborhood had gone out to meet them and repulsed them with hearts stronger than iron and harder than stone because they [the Druzes] had oppressed them with great oppression in the previous disturbances of the year 'forty-four. And they burnt down many villages in ash-Shūf with four hundred men of the companions of Abū Samrā' and a band under Yūsuf al-Mubayyad of Darb as-Sin, having neither consideration for them nor fear. And they hoped that this time they [the Druzes] would leave them alone as they had done on that earlier occasion, thanks to the failure of their plans. But when (P. 52) they [the Druzes] advanced upon them like the waters of the sea, their self-possession and firmness forsook them and they fled, seeking to escape, and ten of them were killed in that [hostile] descent, and four of the Druzes. And the Druzes entered their city plundering it. And they killed whomever of its infirm people they got hold of and burned it down. And the whole number of those killed was one hundred and sixty-five. And the rest [of the Christians], fearing utter perdition, fled in the direction of Ṣaydā.⁹⁶ And Qāsim Yūsuf Ḥamādah, Sheikh Sa'yd Janblāt's agent on his estates in that region, encountered them with about eight hundred men of the Druzes, and threw them back with a mighty throwing back [overpowering strength]. So they took to their heels and returned to their larger villages. And this man [Qāsim Yūsuf] was a violent man, more murderous than Birrād (P. 53) at-Tamīm⁹⁷ and more perfidious than al-Ḥarith Ibn Zālim⁹⁸ as he had plainly shown in previous proceedings which occurred in the year 'forty. He had namely a friend among the Christians of al-Arqūb, whose name

⁹⁶ Sidon.

⁹⁷ Whose story, told in the words of Sir WILLIAM MUIR, was as follows: "Birrad, a friend of the Coreish, jealous of being supplanted in the convoy of the merchandise [despatched by Noman V, Prince of Hira, to the fair of Ocata under the convoy of Orwa, a warrior of the Banu Hawazin] watched his opportunity and, falling upon Orwa as he encamped by a fountain near Fadac, slew him and fled with the booty to conceal himself in Kheibar." *Life of Mahomet and History of Islam to the Era of the Hegira*, II, 4.

⁹⁸ The commander of one of the King of Hira's armies, who slew Samaw'al Ibn 'Adiyā's son when Imru'u-l-Qays's five coats of mail were refused to him.

was Fāris Zukhūr, a wealthy man. And he came to him with asses and mules, and said to him with deceitful tongue: I fear for thee on account of the chiefs of the Banū al-'Ayd, who may kill thee by reason of their coveting thy property. Come therefore with me to my place in Ba'aqlīn and I guarantee to thee evasion of [that we will foil them in their intended] wrongful acts. And he swore to it with every oath and asseveration [he could think of] until he had gained his full confidence and persuaded him. And he [Fāris Zukhūr] got up and hurried and packed up his things and loaded them and strapped them [on the beasts of burden], taking along his flocks and leaving nothing of his furniture in his house. And he went forth with him [Qāsim Yūsuf] completely relying [on his words] and wholly unsuspicious. And they were only a little distance from the village (P. 54) when he [Qāsim Yūsuf] began to shoot at him [Fāris Zukhūr] with bullets and, having slain him, flung him [to one side of the road]. And he drove these loads [his slain "friend's" property] to the house he lived in, and left his friend as food for the wolves and vultures. And so it came to pass that the population of the aforementioned district, who this once had escaped from before the face of this reliable man, watched their opportunity where they were, and sent a message to the consuls at Ṣaydā, seeking from them delivery in this misfortune. And they [the consuls] sent [some of] their followers to accompany them to the city, with whom [those followers] they were to arrive in safety and security. But when they were on their way thither in a state of fear and confusion, Qāsim Yūsuf surprised them with the men under his command and surrounded them [rushing up] from right and left. And the bullets hit them from every side, and the mouths of the swords bit them with the biting of vipers. And they cried out for help but no one listened, (P. 55) and they begged for intercession but no one interceded, and at times they exerted all their strength to repulse [the enemy] but they failed, and they tried to flee but could not find the means. They were like people submerged in a boisterous sea, tossed by the beating of the waves, and the angel of death circled round them on every mountain-side and in every ravine. And they remained in this plight for the space of three hours. And about four hundred of their men were killed, among whom seventy monks [besides] six nuns, the blood running like rain-water. And the color of the soil changed as if it was dyed with henna. And the

stones of the earth became red carnelian. And those that remained alive of them were only a few. And when they [who had stayed at home] became aware of the misfortune which had befallen their companions, they were overwhelmed with grief and distressed by misgivings [concerning their own fate]. And they hastened to migrate, assembling (P. 56) at Jabal Türah, intending to direct themselves to Zahlah. And the news of their intention reached the Druzes and, pursuing them, they swooped upon them like sparrow-hawks and barred the roads and highways against them, and rushed upon them impetuously [attacking them] with sword-cuts and bullets. In this manner they killed two hundred and more of their men, and those that fled escaped to the Balād ash-Shaqif⁹⁹ where the Mutāwalies met them like wolves and deprived them of their weapons and clothes. And the next morning, which was the second day of June, Qāsim Yūsuf went down to the monastery of the Savior¹⁰⁰ with a party of young men, and they plundered the monastery and burned it down, and killed seventeen of the monks. And they carried off whatever rare and precious objects [they found] in the Christian churches. And it amounted to a considerable sum in money because [taken in by his assurances] they [the monks] (P. 57) cherished the illusion of Sheikh Sa'yd Janblāt being trustworthy. So they did not divide any of [their belongings] but stayed all together in their monastery in tranquility of mind. And this was also the case with the monks living in the neighborhood of that place because they too [and for the same reason] mistook him for an honest man, but terror of the heart succeeded [their sense of] security.

FIFTH CHAPTER

Concerning the carnage at Hāṣbayyā, which was followed by the massacre of Rāshayyā.

Before we enter upon an exposition of the conflict at Hāṣbayyā and Rāshayyā, it seems to us a good idea to mention one or two things pertaining to the subject of their previous government, which may

⁹⁹ A mountainous district to the South, North of the Nahr al-Qāsinīyah or Litānī.

¹⁰⁰ In the Kharnūb, North of the Nahr al-'Auwaly, the ancient Bostrenus.

serve as an introduction to what we are going to tell (P. 58) about their subsequent vicissitudes. So we [beg leave to] say that Ḥāṣbayyā¹⁰¹ and Rāshayyā¹⁰² are two neighboring towns, situated in the district of Wādy at-Taym which belongs to the province of Damascus. And the larger of the two is Ḥāṣbayyā, a considerable city at the foot of a mountain with high rising summit. And this is the town of which the Sheikh 'Uthmān ad-Darīr of Ḥamā said:

Ḥāṣbayyā, town of solid make, • brings misery upon whoever approaches her,

Is divided into halves, ignominy and shame; • bad luck from God upon the one who divided her!

And he said this because he had entered it by night and the 'Amīr Qāsim and the 'Amīr Najam of the Shāhābīes shared its government, hospitality [to strangers] being exercised by those two in turn. Now at the sheikh's arrival he happened to go to the house of the 'Amīr Qāsim who refused to receive him because that night it was not his turn to exercise hospitality. (P. 59) So the sheikh apologised, saying that he was a stranger who did not know where to go in that darkness [on such a dark night], but would be quite satisfied with only a place to sleep in, desiring neither anything to drink nor to eat. Yet the 'Amīr ceased not to persevere in driving him away until he had chased him from his house. So the man departed, wandering between the houses of the town until at last one of the townspeople met him and took him to his dwelling and so dispelled from him [solved] that difficulty [of finding lodging for the night]. Then, when the morning broke, he flew upon the wing of the raven of separation [took his departure], leaving these two verses behind in the house of the man

¹⁰¹ Notwithstanding their altitude, both Ḥāṣbayyā and Rāshayyā are sometimes identified with Baal-gad "in the valley of Lebanon under Mount Hermon," JOSHUA, XI, 17. The greater part of the former town's population of about 8000 belonged to the Greek Church. Its sarai, which crowns the town, was built by the crusaders and became the family-seat of the Shāhābīes after they had taken it from those foreign invaders. URQUHART, *op. cit.*, I, 361, says that it was afterwards rebuilt and repaired with mean workmanship; he found the walls dilapidated and the courts filthy. But PETERMANN, who visited it about the same time, in the 'fifties, called it, *op. cit.*, I, 186, "ein prächtiges, noch immer sehr festes Schloss mit schöner Aussicht über die Stadt und Umgegend,....." Later it was appropriated by the Turkish government.

¹⁰² Rāshayyā, somewhat smaller but as finely situated in the midst of its gardens and orchards, is also dominated by a imposing sarai which, of the same origin, shared the vicissitudes of the sister palace and fortress in Ḥāṣbayyā.

[who had sheltered him]. And they contained a conceit which does not hide itself from [seems plain enough to] the intelligent because the meaning it indicates and points in them is obvious, since disappointment on account of him who shared [the government of] the town, means in fact disappointment on account of the 'amīr. But I say: we have swerved from our purpose (P. 60) and the rein of speech has lengthened [loosened] in our hands. And we shall now return from our digression to our main subject. So we say that of yore, from the remotest ages and times, the governors of this district were from among the Shihābite 'amīrs, who did not cease to adhere to the Islāmic religion. And in those days [we are speaking of their governor was the 'Amīr Sa'd ad-Dīn, and he resided in this town, most of whose inhabitants were Christians with a number of Druzes and but a few Moslemin among them. But in those days the province was not quiet as it had been in past years, because a rival from the nation of the Druzes had risen against him, a rebellious man, called the Sheikh Salim Shams. He was not [a member of one] of the princely families (P. 61) like the other chiefs of the Mount, but this power [he enjoyed] had accrued to him and he had been incited to this audacity [by the fact] that the Sheikh Sa'yd Janblāt possessed a sister by the name of Nā'yah, who had married the Sheikh Amīn Shams, a man of that [Druze] nation. And she gave birth to a daughter from [begotten by] him [Amīn Shams], who married the aforesaid Sheikh Salim Shams. And the Sheikh Sa'yd liked him and raised him in rank and dignity until he had made him one of the principal lords, and he promised him that, when an opportunity presented itself in course of time, he would do his utmost to set him up as governor in the place of the 'Amīr Sa'd ad-Dīn. So he trusted in this promise, relying upon the Sheikh Sa'yd's favor, and he talked incessantly to every one about his [future] exercise of authority. And some people of the Druze and Islāmic communities attached themselves to him. (P. 62) And when the 'Amīr Sa'd ad-Dīn heard of the Sheikh Salim boasting and of the Druzes and Moslemin taking his side, he drew to him [formed around him] a party of Christians in order that they might aid him [to ensure] his continuance in the office of governor. And in this manner began the discord and the conflict and the mischief between the Christians and the Druzes in this region. And this business developed until the 'amīr found himself compelled to go

to Damascus and complain, laying his case before the Wazīr. And in the mean time [when lodging his complaint] he requested to be accompanied back by an army on the part of [to be furnished by] the Wāly, promising to provide its expenditure [the expense of its maintenance] out of the money of the government assessed upon the people. So he [the Governor-General], granting his request, sent eight hundred men with him, half of them being ordered to Hāṣbayyā and the other half to Rāshayyā, and he [the 'Amīr Sa'd ad-Dīn] travelled (P. 63) with them [returning] from Damascus. And he departed safely to Hāṣbayyā and wielded [there] his authority in peace. But only a short time elapsed before the army was required in Damascus on account of the pilgrimage¹⁰³ and the 'amīr was compelled to accompany them thither for fear that [otherwise] something unpleasant [might happen] to himself. And all the Shīhābite 'amīrs went with him, knowing full well [what they had to fear from] the malicious spite of the Sheikh Salim and his rebellious companions. And after the departure of the 'amīr from the country, the Druzes convoked those of the chiefs of the Christians whom they trusted, and desired of them [the Christians] that together with them [the Druzes] they should bring about his [the 'Amīr Sa'd ad-Dīn's] removal from that region and the expulsion from those parts of all the 'amīrs of his family. And they [the Christian chiefs] said: Since the most remote times no harm has come to us from that family and we have experienced from it nothing (P. 64) but kindness and favor. So we answer you with respect to this matter: It would be an act of injustice and iniquity. But we will make a covenant with you that we shall withdraw ourselves and it is [up] to you and [incumbent] upon you [to decide]. You, [try to] compass what you wish and do what seems good to you. Then the Druzes wrote to the Governor-General at Damascus fully and circumstantially with seals and names attached, [stating] that they would not consent to any of those 'amīrs exercising authority over them, but the Wāly took no notice of that letter. He ordered [on the contrary] the sending of eight hundred men under the banner

¹⁰³ To Mecca. The yearly caravan is made up and starts on its voyage outside the Gate of God at the southern extremity of the suburb of al-Maydān, the event always occasioning such a concourse of people to Damascus that extraordinary precautions have to be taken for the preservation of order. Hence the recall of the troops detached to enforce the 'Amīr Sa'd ad-Dīn's authority against the troublesome protégé of the Sheikh Sa'yid Janblāt.

[command] of Ahmād Bey with the 'Amīr Sa'd ad-Dīn ash-Shihāb for the punishment of the culprits and the suppression of the seditious agitation and [its] causes. As regards the Sheikh Salīm Shams, when [the news of] the 'amīr advancing with an army reached him, he fled to al-Mukhtārah, imploring the protection of the Sheikh Sa'yd, and he remained there (P. 65) waiting for [further] tidings. And when Ahmād Bey arrived in Hāṣbayyā he seized a number of Druzes who had supported the rebellion and he threw them into jail, humiliating them and treating them with contempt. Now the Sheikh Salīm had a Christian steward called Mikhāil Ghabril, who adapted himself to all what agreed with his violent disposition. And the Sheikh Salīm valued him highly and showed him great regard and consulted him in all his affairs. And when the Sheikh Sa'yd learned what the colonel of the army had done with respect to imprisonment and oppressive measures, he saw clearly that while the imperial troops remained there, he would not be able to accomplish his purpose in that country. He summoned therefore the aforesaid Mikhāil to al-Mukhtārah and desired of him that he should present a petition recording upon it [attaching] the signatures (P. 66) of the Christians who sought the removal of the army from the Wādy at-Taym seeing that it was no longer necessary. But he excused himself for the reason that the Christians had not agreed with him upon any such request because this thing would make trouble for them. And when he [the Sheikh Sa'yd] could not get him [Mikhāil Ghabril] to do what he wanted, he began to employ other means and sent through his intermediary presents to the colonel, many precious gifts, among other things a mouthpiece of amber for a pipe and ten thousand piastres and four baskets of rice and sacks of wheat, and besides this rich clothes and carpets. And with it went a letter from him in which he took it upon him to effect a reconciliation, making himself responsible for the Druzes in the most gentle speech and meekest possible mode of address. And when the letter had reached him [the commander of the army] and he had read it and understood (P. 67) what it gave him to understand, and beheld his [the Sheikh Sa'yd's] gifts and presents, he became one of the truest of friends who ever sought to please him. And from that moment on his attitude changed. And he began to despise the Christians and to show regard for the Druzes, both the initiated and uninitiated among them, and he averted his eyes from [overlooked]

the shameful deeds which they committed. And he had frequent meetings with them in retired places [their sanctuaries], and arranged things with them in assemblies and meetings. And he began to correspond with the Sheikh Sa'yd through the intermediary of his [the latter's] sister Nā'yfah, wishing to continue with him on terms of friendship and intimate intercourse. And when the Christians noticed his behavior diverging from the straight [path], they forwarded a complaint to the Governor-General at Damascus concerning the wickedness of his blameworthy conduct and actions. And an order emanated from that high dignitary for his suspension and an official inquiry into the truth about his doings by the council at Hāṣbayyā [acting as a tribunal]. And when he had been cited before (P. 68) the aforesaid council, he applied himself to the writing of a report which was to be evidence in his favor by putting his good actions in the most beautiful light in order that he might prove the complaint which had been brought forward against him, to be in every respect a falsehood and a calumny whereunto the nation of the Druzes could testify. And as regards the Christians, they refused to admit a report like this and said that it was unacceptable. And a man of the Christians of the country, named Jorjas ar-Rays, counted among the people of consideration, was then the council's scribe.¹⁰⁴ So the colonel called him and ordered *him* to write a report, but he refused whereupon he [the colonel] began to threaten him [Jorjas ar-Rays] with evil [consequences] if he did not do as he wished. Now at that time there was in Hāṣbayyā the priest Jabrā'il Kassāb of the Greek Catholic religion, who came to the assembly where (P. 69) the people were gathered, and he found the colonel engaged in a hot altercation, insisting upon it that Jorjas ar-Rays should write the report. And between that priest and the colonel existed a bond of friendship and affection. So when he [the former] entered into the assembly, he [the latter] rejoiced in his presence because he [the latter] thought that he [the former] would assist him in favor of the rebels. Accordingly he [the colonel] arose, standing up, as he [the priest] advanced, and welcomed him with a radiant countenance and smiles, and looked at him with the eye of respect and veneration, and made him sit down by his side upon the carpet in the upper part [seat of honor] of the meeting-place,

¹⁰⁴ He was the confidential secretary of the 'Amīr Sa'd ad-Dīn Shihab. CHURCHILL, *op. cit.*, *passim*, calls him Yoosuf Reis.

and made him feel at ease with [pleasant] speech, and gave himself the utmost pains to honor him and show him regard. Thereupon he began to acquaint him with the contrariness of Jorjas ar-Rays and his refusal to write the report which would bear favorable testimony to the purity of his intentions as well known to all subjects [of the Sultan]. (P. 70) So the priest turned towards Jorjas ar-Rays with an angry look and said to him with frowning mien: I am astonished to the utmost limit of astonishment at thy lack of compliance with the wishes of our lord. And the man [Jorjas ar-Rays] was provoked by his talk, believing in his ignorant foolishness [considering him an arrant fool]. So he said: What is it that thou wishest me to write for him? And he [the priest] said: Write that he has accepted bribes from Sa'yd Janblāt, so and so much in bullion and silk cloth, and so and so much in personal effects, and so and so many hundredweights and bags [of grain]; and that the Druzes have bribed him with a considerable amount of property and valuable, handsome gifts; and that every day he foregathers with them in retired places [their sanctuaries] and [secret] meetings, and plots with them devising stratagems. And write also that he watches [with kindly interest] all their wicked actions without putting any obstacle in their way either small or great; and that he has raised the condition of the gatherers and sellers of firewood [the lowly] (P. 71) and poor among them over [that of] the chiefs and the men of consequence among the Christians. Write then the report in this manner! And I am one who will affix his seal to it on the spot. And those present laughed at his speech, wondering with exceeding wonder because they saw just how the matter stood. But as regards the bey [Ahmad Bey, the colonel] it amazed and bewildered him, and his color changed by reason of his being overcome with confusion. And he attempted to clear himself with respect to [the charge of] his having foregathered with the Druzes in retired places [their sanctuaries], and his accepting gifts and bribes. Upon which the priest Jabrā'l said: Concerning the meetings, this is such a manifest business that it requires neither argument nor proof; and concerning the gifts and bribes, their messenger [the messenger employed for their conveyance was] Mikhāl Ghabril. So let him deny if he can find any way to deny it. Now the aforesaid Mikhāl was present in the assembly (P. 72). So darkness took hold of him [he perceived himself to be in a tight corner]. And he did not know what to say to this, but after

a long while [of silence] he turned towards him [the priest], greatly embarrassed and feeling as if the whole earth was closing in upon him, and he spoke, saying that the case was not as they asserted it to be and that he was not [corrupt] to the degree they supposed of him. Yes [he continued], I have brought him some presents from the Sheikh Sa'yd in the way of friendship and affection, but not in the way of bribery and instigation to corruption. So the priest turned towards Jorjas ar-Rays and said: There is no harm [in mentioning it, so] write in the report that it was in the way of friendship and the strengthening [of the ties] of affection and companionship. At this language, more cutting than a stroke with a sharp sword, the colonel's confusion increased and he left the assembly, biting his fingers. And he cursed the hour (P. 73) in which the priest Jabrā'il had come to the council. And after the official inquiry into the irregularities of his conduct, they wrote a report, affirming them, and he retired from his [official] functions. And as his successor arrived 'Uthmān Bey, who took his place in office [command of the troops]. As regards the Druzes, when they saw that he [Ahmad Bey] had failed them in their expectations and that the Governor-General of Damascus had answered the request of the Christians with the dismissal of the colonel, their hatred and execration of the Christians became more and more intense. And from that moment on they began to employ [devise] means for their destruction and the ruin of the 'Amīr Sa'd ad-Dīn. And their principal mode of attaining that end was to cultivate the good opinion of the new bey and to approach him with ready money and promises [of more]. Then they began to hold meetings in which most times (P. 74) the Sheikh Khattār al-Amād and 'Aly Ḥamādah and Nā'yfah, the sister of the Sheikh Sa'yd, were present. And the Sheikh Salim Shams was there sometimes, secretly assisting at those counsels. And they did not cease to meet assiduously by night and by day until the agitation spread through the land and disaster and calamity became imminent. And when the thirtieth day of the month of May arrived, a number of Druzes repaired to the market of Hāṣbayyā to buy and sell in accordance with the current custom of the people of that region. And while they were there, a Druze woman came up and informed them that a band of Druzes from Ḥaurān was at hand and with them a party from the

Wādy at-Taym and the Iqlīm al-Ballān.¹⁰⁵ And they counted about five thousand (P. 75) men and it seemed that they were bound for that place. So when the Druzes heard this news, they began to be hopeful of success and the attainment of their purpose and, setting about the distribution of their merchandise without delay, left to meet the Druzes that were advancing. As regards the Christians, when they saw this, anxiety troubled their hearts and they were struck with terror. And they repaired to 'Uthmān Bey, acquainting him in full detail with the circumstances of their condition. And [apparently] he set himself firmly for their protection with great zeal, and enjoined them to remain easy at heart and tranquil of mind. And the next day 'Uthmān Bey left to put himself in touch with the aforesaid band of Druzes [and stayed with them] until near midnight. And from them he went to the retired place [sanctuary] al-Bayyādah¹⁰⁶ and brought his meeting with the initiated of the Druzes and Nā'yah Janblāt to a close, and returned safely to his post. And on the third day of (P. 76) the month of June the Druzes gathered together in [the] Wādy at-Taym and at Majdal [ash-]Shams¹⁰⁷ and in [the] Iqlīm al-Ballān. And a party [that was] with Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'il al-Āṭrash of the Druzes of Haurān,¹⁰⁸ joined them, and they provoked Ḥāṣbayyā to war and barred to it [its inhabitants] the passage on the roads, encircling it as a collar encircles the neck. So a thousand men of the Christians went to encounter them. And they mingled in fight, making charges and countercharges. And the fire of war began to blaze up. And they did not cease going on in this manner until the area of the battlefield became [too] narrow and the issues hoped for were cut off. And the hills and hillocks quaked with the uproar of the men [coming to grips], and the noise of the gunpowder and the clash of the steel [of the weapons]. And the bullets

¹⁰⁵ A district situated on the other side of the Jabal ash-Sheikh (Mount Hermon).

¹⁰⁶ "Baaklin in Lebanon, near Deir el Kamar, and El Bayada in the Hermon, near Hasbeiya, are the two places which hold the first rank of eminence among others of their kind [i. e. among the *khalwāt* or retired places of the Druzes]." J. WORTABET, *Researches into the Religions of Syria*, p. 337.

¹⁰⁷ Situated on a southwestern spur of the Jabal ash-Sheikh between the Wādy at-Taym and the Iqlīm al-Ballān.

¹⁰⁸ The band of Ismā'il al-Āṭrash, the great Druze chief of Haurān, consisted of three thousand men, half of whom were mounted, but his presence at the siege of Ḥāṣbayyā is not so well attested as at that of Zālīlah later on. Cf CHURCHILL, *The Druzes and the Maronites*, p. 174.

fell like hail[-stones]. (P. 77) And the smoke of the gunpowder obscured the world all around, thickening overhead. And the men did not cease to fight and battle, and to struggle and contend with one another until in the end the Druzes were reduced to the last extremity, feeling sure of perdition and destruction. So they returned, taking to their heels, having been defeated with the worst of defeats, and abandoned [their designs on] the town, having recourse to flight because they feared that annihilation might descend upon them in the wake of ruin. And the Christians, being victorious and having gained the upper hand, desisted from pursuit but turned of set purpose to the houses of the Druzes and let them go up in flames. And on that day about a hundred and thirty of the Druzes were killed and twenty-six of the Christians. And on the second day the Druzes collected a numerous crowd, including every wounded and crippled man, (P. 78) and invested the town, raging like a sea in violent commotion. So the Christians went out to meet them with hearts [steady] like rocks, and with them went the army, and with it one cannon. And the Christians relied on the assistance of the army but they did not know what thing it kept concealed [what surprise it had in store]. 'Uthmān Bey, namely, had commanded the Christians to draw the Druzes on to under [within the range of] the cannon. And they obeyed his command to see what effect this would have. And while they were engaged in fighting, he kept apart and fired three shots with gunpowder only, and [then] he backed out, returning to town with his army. And he ordered the Christians to repair to the saraī, where they would be protected, unless [they wished] disaster to overtake them. So the Christians repaired to the saraī as he had ordered. And the Druzes followed close on their track. And from (P. 79) there [the town-gates] they [the Druzes] spread among their [the Christians'] houses and plundered them. Thereupon they set fire to them and burnt them down, and carried off all the valuables and objects of price which the churches contained. And after the Christians had collected in the saraī, 'Uthmān Bey sent a message ordering them to hand over their weapons, while assuring them again of his solicitude [for their welfare] and protection. Now they would have refused to deliver their weapons if their spirit had not failed them, but [in the circumstances they yielded] at last to the force of his threat of death and revenge, [being] thus compelled to hand over their arms

because they had become like birds in a cage. And when the arms had been handed over, he sent five loads of them to the Druzes of Rāshayyā, but the rest he left to [be appropriated by] the Druzes of Hāṣbayyā.¹⁰⁹ And the Christians remained in the sarai, they and their families, starvation staring them in the face, (P. 80) the standard-weight¹¹⁰ of bread selling for thirty piastres, and even at that price it was hard to get it at all. And they remained in this condition eight days and nights, in anxiety and perturbation of spirit, in sorrow and distress, looking for relief to the Lord of lords. And on the ninth day 'Uthmān Bey sent word to open the gate of the sarai, intimating to the Druzes that they could enter it and attain their purpose. So they entered immediately, arms in hand, and the first of the Christians whom they sought, was Jorjas ar-Rays because he belonged to the leading chiefs and managed the 'Amīr Sa'd ad-Dīn's business matters. Now the man [Jorjas ar-Rays] lay concealed in the women's apartments of the house of a friend of his who served in the army. And when they searched for him, the aforesaid soldier went to his house and seized him and gave him up to his adversaries. And they fell upon him (P. 81) without giving him respite, and they cut off his hand whereupon they killed him in a horrible way. Then they ascended to the upper floor of the sarai and cut off the head of the 'Amīr Sa'd ad-Dīn, and flung it down into the court-yard of the mansion. And thence they sent it as a present to the Sheikh Sa'yd,

¹⁰⁹ "The arms they had delivered up were then put on the backs of mules and sent off with an escort, professedly to Damascus, but with so small a one that it would be mockery to call it an escort. Before the mules were well out of the valley of Hasbeya, the Druses (as had been intended) fell upon them, the soldiers made no resistance and all the arms fell into the hands of the Druses." Letter, dated Bayrūt, July 18, 1860, from Mr Cyril Graham to Lord Dufferin who forwarded it in extract, from Paris, August 5, 1860, to Lord Russell. 'Uthmān Bey's conduct in those proceedings was not at all relished by his fellow-officers in the Turkish army. The French Protestant missionary JULES FER-RETTÉ, *op. cit.*, says: "Il faut reconnaître toutefois que la conduite d'Osman Bey n'avait pas été au goût de tous ses collègues. Les colonels de la garnison de Damas s'abstinèrent de rendre visite à Osman et l'un d'eux, s'étant trouvé face à face à la parade avec le bey, lui dit: 'Il se peut que vous soyez un homme d'honneur, mais votre sabre est déshonoré.' Osman répondit: 'Aucun poids ne m'est plus lourd que celui de Hasbeya; mais le premier devoir d'un soldat, c'est d'obéir.'" After the advent of Fu'ad Pasha, 'Uthmān Bey was tried and shot for his share in the massacre at Hāṣbayyā, together with Ahmad Pasha, his superior in command, whose instructions he had misunderstood or understood too well.

¹¹⁰ "Weight of 5 lbs in Syria and of 15½ oz. in Egypt," J. G. HAVA. ".....: a pound-weight: and a pint-measure." E. W. LANE, *Arabic-English Lexicon*.

which seemed an obligatory attention in consideration of the enmity which existed between the two and the aversion [they had for one another]. Thereupon they seized five of his kinsmen and shed their blood like his. Then [brandishing] their weapons, they rushed in [for a general attack] like wild beasts of prey and began to butcher the Christians as sheep are butchered. Some cut them up with axes as firewood is cut up, and some lopped off from them limb after limb until they got to the parts which it is not meet to mention among well-bred people. And the men were slaughtered in (P. 82) the embrace of their wives, and the children at the breasts of their mothers. And they [the Druzes] said to every one of the men: Trace the sign of the cross upon thy breast and resign thy soul to the Virgin for soon thou wilt die.¹¹¹ And this is of all their blameworthy actions and shameless, disgraceful deeds the one whose like has never occurred before. And no one ever did what they did, butchering a man's five sons, from a son two years old to a son whose age was ten. And they took of their flesh and made him eat it after which they killed himself. There was also a woman who stood up for one of her sons to defend him, [but] they killed [both] her and the child. [And this went on] until the blood flowed in rills. And over them was raised the cry: Glory to the Living and Eternal One! Oh, what an hour was that, like an hour of the day of resurrection! Full of (P. 83) awe and destitute of safety because the shouting of the men and the crying of the women and the little children filled the valleys and the moun-

¹¹¹ With regard to the religious aspect of this civil war we are tempted to quote from a writer who, notwithstanding his bias against the Druzes, cannot help remarking: "From the very commencement of the hostilities the mob leaders of the Maronites in the Ksarouan, and even bishops, had despatched letters couched in the most inflated and bombastic terms to the great Christian centres amongst the Druzes, calling upon them to rise fearlessly on their oppressors, and promising them immediate assistance. The men of Zachele, of Deir-el-Kamar, of Jezeen, of Hasbeya, of Rascheya, were told to be of good cheer; this was a war of religion. The standard of the Cross, blessed by their priests, had been elevated amid enthusiastic rejoicings. The Maronites had embroidered the Cross on the sleeves of their right arms. They were 50,000 strong, united by one common sentiment, and could afford to distribute their numbers. On a given day 10,000 would march on such a point, 8000 on another, 5000 on another. What had they to fear? Let them rise and strike home. Their cause must be triumphant." One of these letters was intercepted by the Druzes; their rage knew no bounds. "This then is a war of religion," said they; "so let it be. The Maronites menace us with destruction; let them come on. But this time, Inshallah! the Druze standards shall be planted on the gates of Tripoli. The country is ours or theirs" CHURCHILL, *The Druzes and the Maronites*, p. 158.

tains. Breasts were beaten and cheeks slapped [in despair]. The hardness of the rocks softened and the heart even of Nimrod¹¹² would have relaxed. But it only increased the callousness of the Druzes and made the hostility in [that stirred] their souls more violent, since they divested themselves of the garment of self-restraint to clothe themselves with the garment of revenge, and banished compassion and mercy from their hearts, doing on that day savage deeds and [committing] barbarous acts, transgressing the laws of manliness and humanity; [acts] from which [our natural] disposition recoils and which make the seat of our inner consciousness¹¹³ quake merely by hearing them spoken of. And the number of the Christians whom they killed on that day was about eleven hundred souls.¹¹⁴ (P. 84) And those that survived had thrown [escaped by throwing] themselves down among the slain and [others] of them had remained outside without entering the prison [going to their doom in the sarai]. And after this 'Uthmān Bey gathered his troops together and marched to Damascus, taking with him some of the children of the Christians who consented to embrace the religion of Islām. And while they were on their way some Druzes pounced on one of those children and seized it, hitting and cutting its head with an axe. And when its father heard of this he hurried towards them, entreating that it should be restored to him. But they would not do [as he wished] before he had assigned to them an order for the payment of a debt, the amount of which, coming to him from one of the villages [near] Damascus was sixteen thousand piastres, which they took, [then] giving the child back to him. And on the second day, which was the twelfth of the month of June, a number of Druzes went to (P. 85) Rāshayyā, reinforced by a crowd of Druzes from Ḥaurān under Ismā'il al-Aṭrash. And [coming up] from all sides, they surrounded the Christians whom

¹¹² Here again Muhammadan, rather than Christian, associations make the author speak of Nimrod as the prototype of the flint-hearted, presumptuous and impious.

¹¹³ Lit. "a small piece of flesh which is in the heart, and which trembles, or quakes, by reason of a calamity, when one is frightened (Abū 'Ubayd). or a piece of flesh (or muscle) in the side, which trembles, or quakes, when one is frightened (the "Asās" of Ez-Zamakshere);" LANE, *op. cit.*

¹¹⁴ "The number massacred belonging to Hasbaya was supposed to be 900 and about 70 refugees from the neighbouring villages." Letter of June 30, 1860, from Mr Jas Brant, British consul at Damascus, to Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer.

the [presence of the] army¹¹⁵ had previously imbued with a feeling of security. And the Druzes spoke them fair and tranquillised them but tidings of the events in Hāṣbayyā had reached them. So they knew that those people would neither keep their oaths nor their covenant. And they had looked for that day when the enemy would assail them, [trying] to avert from themselves the possibility of a [like] fate. But the aggressive attitude of the Druzes of Haurān and the Iqlīm al-Ballān against them increased in violence and they had closed all the gates upon them and barred the roads. Yet they [the Druzes] raged against them with bullets and axes. So about seven hundred of their men were killed in this affray¹¹⁶ and those who escaped, dispersed in the wild, uninhabited interior. And the sum total of those (P. 86) killed at Hāṣbayyā and Rāshayyā and the villages in the neighborhood of these two towns, exceeded eighteen hundred persons. And all this happened while the army did not oppose itself against [those horrors] with a [single] word. And, what is more, while it should have protected the Christians against this discomfiture, it was allotted its share in that feast [orgy of blood].

SIXTH CHAPTER

Concerning the siege of Zahlah, which forced its inhabitants to emigrate.

Zahlah is a town situated to the East of Bayrūt at ten hours' distance. And its population reaches about eight thousand souls. And it (P. 87) possesses lofty edifices and contiguous structures, many gardens and plantations, and fruit and flowers, with a river passing through it like a sharp sword, more limpid than the water of the ocean.¹¹⁷ And

¹¹⁵ The troops at Rāshayyā were commanded by Muḥammad 'Aly Agha, who met the same punishment for his delinquency as 'Uthmān Bey, on the same day and in the same place, the courtyard of the citadel at Damascus.

¹¹⁶ A statement of "Mikhail Ghabril" regarding the massacre at Rāshayyā and in its neighborhood, dated June 29, 1860, and forwarded to Lord Russell by letter of July 5 from Mr N. Moore, British consul-general at Bayrūt, puts the number at about 800.

¹¹⁷ This river is the Bardūnī which descends through a ravine from the Jabal Sannīn to the plain of the Buqā'a where it flows into the Nahr al-Litānī. Finely situated and industrious, the Christian town of Zahlah has however a bad reputation in other respects. "Its people," says the Rev. F. L. PORTER, *Five Years in Damascus*, II, 279, "are not

its inhabitants were of the Christian religion, extremely brave and zealous [in the defence of their rights], and between them and the Druzes a serious feud had existed from olden times because the Banū al-Qantār, kinsfolk of the Druzes of al-Matn, had [in days gone by] risen in rebellion and overrun the country and occupied Wādy al-Qarn.¹¹⁸ So the 'Amīr Bashīr ash-Shihāby had given the people of Zahlah full authority over them¹¹⁹ and they had killed about twenty of their men and punished the rest, after which they stopped conspiring [to inflict] harm and damage. And since then the Druzes were in an inferior position to them [the Christians]. And not one [not a Druze] was able [dared] to raise his head in their presence. (P. 88) And afterwards they killed the 'Amīr Di'āb al-Harfūsh and overcame his band of Mutāwalies. And they treated all with dreadful severity. And all waited for an opportunity to take blood-revenge on them, and clear themselves of [the stain of] their disgrace [ignominious condition]. So when the year 'forty came in which the conflict began between the Christians and the Druzes of ash-Shūf, the Druzes assailed them [the Christians], and with the former some thousands of Arabs and Kurds and Mutāwalies [made common cause], forsaking them [the Christians] and rivalling to compass their defeat. And a

deserving of such a splendid country for they are justly celebrated for their pride and their insolence. They are as ignorant a set of priest-ridden bigots as ever polluted a country, and no stranger can pass through their streets without meeting insult and often abuse. The whole place is now swarming with monks and friars of every colour, and it is literally crowded with churches, convents and ecclesiastical establishments. The Jesuits are building immense structures and the whole people are ruled by the priesthood. Of the nature and effects of their government I could relate many a strange and thrilling tale, which would prove to the world that, where the Christians possess power in this land, they are as tyrannical, as unjust and almost as bloodthirsty as the haughty Muslems." This estimate of a few years before the events here narrated, is endorsed by all contemporary writers, for instance the French Protestant missionary FERRETTE, *op. cit.*; "L'intolérance religieuse y avait établi son quartier général. Depuis plusieurs années, Zahleh s'était soustraite à l'autorité du gouvernement turc et s'était constituée en république théocratique sous la direction des pères jésuites. La religion catholique apostolique et romaine étant la religion de l'état, non-seulement les missionnaires protestants avaient été chassés plusieurs fois, et même récemment, de la manière la plus brutale, mais les Grecs eux-mêmes, qui habitent Zahleh et y possèdent des propriétés depuis plusieurs siècles, n'avaient pu rebâtir leur église et rétablir leur école."

¹¹⁸ To be distinguished from the Wādy al-Qarn to the South of the village of al-Bassah on the road from Acre to Tyre.

¹¹⁹ The 'Amīr Bashīr ash-Shihāby had always a penchant for Zahlah, whose industries and especially whose extensive trade in wool owed a good deal to his protection.

great many of them were killed. But when the year 'forty-four came, they [the Christians] assailed them [the Druzes with their Arab, Kurd and Mutāwaly allies] in great number, with hearts stronger than iron, and killed of them a great many persons, and dispersed them in the waste and desert lands. And after this (P. 89) the inhabitants of Zahlah felt big and important, and consolidated their power, and crowded over the Druzes, becoming arrogant. And their high-handed manner struck terror into the hearts of all, and their name [alone] inspired with fear the Druzes and the Mutāwalies, who regarded even their unweaned babies with dread. Then [it came to pass] that a watchman of them [the Christians], who happened to be in Barītān,¹²⁰ one of the villages of the Mutāwalies, was treated insolently by one of the villagers, who beat the man with such a beating that he killed him. And when news of this reached them [the Christians], a party of horsemen mounted [their steeds] and left, betaking themselves to Barītān, but the inhabitants fled, abandoning it. And the [vengeful] crowd entered it and killed whomever they got hold of and plundered the village and burned it down. And the chiefs of the country of Ba'albak and its people observed their deed but not one ventured to oppose them. And secret hatred rankled in the hearts of the Druzes and Mutāwalies, and they meditated evil and resistance against the people of Zahlah. So when (P. 90) this commotion agitated the country and enmity and contention broke out between the Christians and the Druzes, the Sheikh 'Aly, son of the Sheikh Khaṭṭār al-'Amād, advanced with about two hundred men to Zahr al-Baydar, a hillock near Zahlah. And, as he met the garrison composed of its townspeople, a fight took place among them. And there were charges and countercharges. And of them [the armed townspeople] there were about four hundred men in that neighborhood. And when they heard the noise of the gunpowder they hastened thither, parties of them meeting [engaging] parties [of the enemy]. And eye encountering eye, the fires of war blazed up between the contending bands. And the Christians gained the upper hand over the Druzes and overmastered them and pitched into them and rounded them up and threw them back to the vicinity of 'Ayn Dārah with vigor and daring. And the Sheikh 'Aly was hit in the foot and they carried him to his house. And (P. 91) this wound caused

¹²⁰ Some five miles southsouthwest of Ba'albak, the ancient Assyrian Balbiki and Heliopolis of the Greeks.

his death. Now his father happened to pass near that place and when the news reached him, he promptly directed himself [thither] with warriors on foot and on horseback; and when he arrived at the battlefield of the alighting [where they were engaged], and saw his son in that condition, he lost no time in charging with the men and heroes who attended him. And the Christians encountered him with hearts like the mountains, a desperate fight ensuing between them. So they pressed and rushed upon one another, and collided and came to grips, and advanced and attacked, and persevered [in their struggle] for about five hours of the day. And [meanwhile] a large crowd [of the people] of the surrounding country had collected, so the Christians returned all together to Zahlah for fear of ruin and destruction, after their having killed about twenty men of the Druzes while their own slain numbered ten. And one of these ten (P. 92) had been killed carrying a flag of the Druzes and he carried that flag spread out [in derision] contrary to the manner in which it should be carried [according to the Druze custom]. And one of the Christians took him for a Druze and fired a bullet at him, and [so] he was killed.¹²¹ And that day was the twenty-ninth of the month of May.¹²² And when it was the first day of the month of June, about six hundred men of the inhabitants of Zahlah directed themselves to Kafr Silwān intending to guard [occupy] it for the protection of the Christians living in the neighborhood of that place. Their leader [in that expedition] was 'Abd'Allah Abū Khātir, one of their chief men. And it was Yūsuf Bey Karam,¹²³ famous for his prowess and his high ambition, who had sent a message to tranquilise the people of Zahlah and the neighboring villages, making grave things easy for them [alleviating their

¹²¹ An accident which gave color to the superstition that Druze flags are better left alone. Young Mansūr too, the son of Baraqat, who, in the skirmish outside the walls of Hāṣbayyā, had cut himself a passage through the Druze ranks to seize one of their banners, was one of their first victims when they broke into the sarai, notwithstanding that his father enjoyed the protection of Sitt Nā'yfah, finally to be killed with the boy. Cf FERRETTE, *op. cit.*, where, by the way, the number of men slaughtered at Hāṣbayyā, is put at one thousand and fifty.

¹²² This second battle of 'Ayn Darah in which six hundred Druzes routed three thousand Christians, took place not on the 29th but on the 27th of May, 1860.

¹²³ The Yūsuf Bey Karam here spoken of and also called Yūsuf Karim, seems by some authors to have been confounded with Yūsuf Khawan, a godson of the Prince of Joinville, who received his education at the French Lazarist (formerly Jesuit) College of Antūra, the only military leader of consequence whom the Christians of Mount Lebanon possessed.

worry], [telling them] that they were perfectly safe and secure because he had made up his mind (P. 93) to come to them [and to remain] near at hand with a fully equipped armed force. And he had sent word to the aforesaid 'Abd'Allah Abū Khāṭir, requesting his presence in order that he might consult him concerning [the measures] appropriate for the [then existing state of] affairs. And when the written letter reached him ['Abd'Allah Abū Khāṭir], he sent a message to excuse himself from going. And meanwhile a force of Druzes from Qurnāyil and that region had collected and driven back with strength and might the people of Zahlah. And the fighting between them was desperate for about seven hours of the day. And of the Druzes about fifteen men were killed and of the Christians up to nine men. Then the Christians retraced their steps to Zahlah for fear of being assailed by the foes around them. And some of its inhabitants went out to the plain of al-Buqā'a to watch and observe; and some of them patrolled (P. 94) the country [also] to watch and observe. And an encounter took place between them and parties of the multitude of Druzes [that were steadily] gathering, and they routed them and took as spoils many of their horses and weapons and accoutrements. And when the Druzes had finished [accomplished their design] with the places whose inhabitants they had dispersed, and saw that the remaining Christians did not move away from the rest of the districts adjoining them, their minds concentrated upon the smiting [reduction] of Zahlah, which was their principal concern and greatest of objectives and necessities. They collected therefore armed bands and troops, and sent [for assistance] to the Mutāwalies of the country of Ba'albak and their 'amirs of the Banū al-Harfūsh who were joined by a rabble of Arabs and stragglers and Kurds. [These] were led by Ismā'il al-Āṭrash and the 'Amīr Ḥamūd Raslān and the Sheikh Khaṭṭār al-'Amād. And they drove with them a party (P. 95) of Christians who were powerless to disobey or resist. And in foot-folk and horsemen they surpassed [the number of] ten thousand.¹²⁴ And with this awe inspiring force they made for Zahlah and deployed in the plains

¹²⁴ An exaggerated estimate for it "would appear that there were collected before Zahleh only about 1800 or 2000 Druzes and probably about 1000 more of other races, as Kurds, Arabs, Metwalehs and Anserians, joined them, attracted by the hope of plunder." Letter of June 26, 1860, from Mr Jas Brant, British consul at Damascus, to Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer.

around it. And the inhabitants of Zahlah, including strangers and allies, numbered only about five thousand.¹²⁵ And when they saw those enormous numbers [of enemies] that did not cease to come on, [filling] the country all around, they knew for sure that they would not be able [to put up a firm defence]. So they sent a message to the French consul at Bayrūt, imploring [his] assistance to support their request to the Pasha that he might turn the Druzes away from them or despatch an army to guard the town against them [those invaders]. Seeking to obtain this from him, he answered that he would command the Druzes to desist from [waging] war [upon the people of Zahlah] and also would despatch an army to guard the town (P. 96) with orders to strike at them if they did not stop striking. And that he [Khürshid Pasha] himself would follow the army and would not permit the Druzes to interfere with them [the Christians] [doing] worse harm, but on condition [stipulating however] that the Christians should forbid [their people] to flock to Zahlah, assembling there, in order that the way might be open to him to restrain the Druzes in their wish [to attack the town]. And it was Yüsuf Bey Karam, mention of whom has been made before, who arrived with troops and halted in the district of al-Matn in the proximity of the town. And Yüsuf Agha ash-Shantiry collected likewise from among the men of [the town of] al-Matn and the whole district an armed troop large in number. And the consuls wrote them to remain there to see how matters stood. So they waited in their place [the positions which they had taken] watching [events]. And as regards Khürshid Pasha, he despatched Nüry Bey with a detachment (P. 97) of the regular army and ammunition and stores and other material for use in war.

¹²⁵ "Zahle is said to contain 7000 fighting men and abundance of stores and ammunition." Letter of June 16, 1860, from Mr N. Moore, British consul-general at Bayrūt, to Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer. The inhabitants of Zahlah had, furthermore, "a kind of federal alliance with the Christians of Deir-el-Kamar for the general protection of Christian interests, if seriously menaced by the Druzes," CHURCHILL, *The Druzes and the Maronites*, pp. 107/8. But the trouble was that, while the Druzes acted together in perfect discipline, the Christians neither would nor could trust one another: "Après avoir été pendant plusieurs années le fléau des autres sectes, même catholiques, les Zahliées trouvèrent le moyen d'envelopper tous les chrétiens dans leur propre querelle avec les Druses. La guerre commença; mais au lieu de porter secours comme ils le pouvaient, à leurs coreligionnaires menacés, ils s'enfermèrent dans leurs murs. Au moment où ils se virent eux-mêmes assiégés par les Druses, l'armée Maronite vint à leur aide: ils refusèrent de la laisser entrer, attribuant au général Joseph Karim des projets de conquête." FER-RETTÉ, *op. cit.*

And as regards the inhabitants of Zahlah, they exerted themselves to prepare and make ready for battle, and asked the people of Dayr al-Qamar and the other [Christian] towns to come to their aid, but [no help] came except from the people of al-Arqüb. And as regards Nûry Bey, his march to Zahlah took him three days. And on his arrival outside the town, he commanded his troops to pitch their tents, and he displayed flags and standards while the crowd of Druzes remained thronging around. But he did not oppose them either with signs [actions] or words. So when the inhabitants of Zahlah saw their enemies pressing them and the perfidy of Nûry Bey¹²⁶ in front of them [right before their eyes], they sent three (P. 98) of the notables of the town to Yûsuf Bey Karam, requesting that he should come to them since no [other chance of] succour was left to them. And he promised them to come on the second day, which was a Sunday. So the next morning a party went out to meet him on the road near the Hajar al-Âtrash [Deaf Rock]. And they [the townspeople] killed animals [of their flocks] and cooked food for him and his army and remained waiting for him with burning hearts. And when the appointed time passed and he failed to come, their anxiety and vexation increased,¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Afterwards put on trial, Colonel Nûry Bey pleaded in his defence "that, on the day of his arrival at Makseh about two hours before sunset, he summoned from fifty to sixty of the Druse Chiefs and minor Sheikhs, read to them the buyuruldi he held and gave them the necessary advice. They all replied, "We have heard and we obey;" and engaged, unless the Christians of Zahleh attacked them, they, on their part, would not attack the people of Zahleh; and withdrew. That on the morning of the following day he commissioned the regimental secretary, Ali Effendi, to proceed on his part to Zahleh, in order to inform the inhabitants that he, Nuri Bek, had arrived with troops to protect them and the town. But the Zahleh outposts, stationed about Malaaka, refused to allow the said secretary to pass them, treated him with contumely and drove him back. Hardly had he reached head-quarters before the people of Zahleh and the Druses commenced fighting. Nuri Bek's intention then was to march to the scene of action with his troops in order to disperse the combatants and fall upon the Druses, but owing to the numerical strength of the Druses and to the smallness of the forces at his disposal, and to the fact that both Christians and Druses were now intermingled, he did not consider himself able to carry his intention into execution and, therefore, could not carry out his orders to their full extent." See the minutes of the evidence adduced at the trial of Colonel Nûry Bey, *Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Syria*, 1860-61, p. 302. Colonel Nûry Bey was condemned to the punishment next after that of death, namely confinement for life in a fortress.

¹²⁷ Yûsuf Bey Karam's dilly-dallying or the townspeople's interfering with his plans for their relief, see Note 125, is another instance of the imperfect understanding and mutual distrust among the Christians who, for the rest, instead of applying to the proper authorities when they had got themselves into trouble, preferred consular interference with the calamitous results shown in this narrative.

and they sent again to him to inform him of the danger they were in and that, if he did not come down to them with his men and heroes as promptly as the circumstances demanded, their movable possessions would be carried off and they themselves humiliated in their state and condition because their foes surrounded them [pressing on] from right and left in enormous numbers. Whereupon he apologised for his delay on that day and promised to come on the second day with auxiliaries and allies. (P. 99) So their hearts cheered up and their anxiety abated, and they manifested their gladness and joy, and felt happy in [anticipation of their] victory and success. But on the second day, which was Monday, the eighteenth of the month of June,¹²⁸ the Druzes closed in upon them from all sides and places, confronted by the Christians with hearts of flint, man dashing against man. And the fight between them was desperate, death hovering near and the earth quaking with the clash of heroes and the noise of the gunpowder which almost shook the mountains. And they did not cease to charge and counter-charge, and to rush and push on, each anticipating the other's attack, until men and horses became tired out and the loss of life and punishment [inflicted] grew terrific. And the smoke of the gunpowder enveloped them, changing the day into night. And the action continued like this for the space of four hours of the day (P. 100) [during which] they [were engaged] in a battle hotter than the blaze of flaming fire. And still the people of Zahlah put their trust in the advance of Yūsuf Bey Karam, according to his appointment. So they did not attend to the proper watching of the side from which he was to arrive with his force. And this came to the knowledge of the Sheikh Khattār al-Amād who took a troop of his bravest men and spread out [waved] in front of it Christian flags which certain Druzes had taken from Christians whom they had overmastered in some fashion. And as he approached [in this manner] on that neglected flank, they thought

¹²⁸ The consular reports confirm this date as that of the final tussle for the possession of Zahlah. But it is erroneously stated to have been June 29, 1860, in the *Druze Account of the late Events in Lebanon*, presented to Her Majesty Queen Victoria with a *Petition* from the gentry and the commonalty of the Druze nation of Mount Lebanon, dated August 17, 1860. And far from the Druzes being the aggressors, closing in upon the Christians from all sides and places, we find it there averred that the latter took advantage of an armistice arranged by a certain Sheikh Mahmūd al-Id, with a view to reconciliation, to fall upon some Druze horsemen "picketed in the lands of Sa'd Nā'il at about an hour's distance from Zahlah," which led to the general mêlée that decided the fate of the town.

that [it was] Yüsuf Bey Karam who came [to their aid] with men and ammunition. So, reviving their hope of being relieved, the good news circulated among them and they concentrated their attention on the other side. And while they were like this [cherishing this illusion] the fire [of war] broke out in the high quarter of the town on the side of the place of [appointed for the] (P. 101) meeting [with Yüsuf Bey Karam]. And the clamor of men [forcing their way] rose with the noise of the gunpowder. And when they found that the sky showered men upon them from outside and inside [the town], and that Nüry Bey had turned hostile to them with that gang and those nomad tribes, they drove their families before them [sought safety in flight for their women and children], defending them against them [their enemies], and abandoned their homes and habitations. And they took the road to Biskintā¹²⁹ and neighboring villages of al-Matn, and some of them reached by degrees the seashore. And the whole number of those who were killed in this onslaught was of the Druzes about hundred and of the Christians eighty-five men, and [even] more it is said.¹³⁰ And when the inhabitants of Zahlah left [that town], those tribes [the Druzes with their Arab, Kurd and Mutāwaly confederates] entered, burning and carrying off the personal property and treasure it contained, killing the Jesuit religious with five teachers and all the students in the French college.¹³¹ (P. 102)

¹²⁹ Near the border of Kaaruān.

¹³⁰ "A Druse present at the attack (on June 19th, after the skirmish of the 18th) reported that they lost, in killed and wounded, about forty, and the Christians less; but how many have perished in the conflagration, or may have been massacred after the town came into their possession, he did not know." Letter of June 26, 1860, from Mr J. Brant, British consul at Damascus, to Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer.

¹³¹ A letter, dated June 20, 1860, from Mr N. Moore, British consul-general at Bayrūt, to Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, speaks of 1500 Druzes and 700 Christians killed or wounded in the Zahlah affair, while the first reports, still to be verified, mentioned that the Druzes, after penetrating into the town, "murdered a priest and some women in the Jesuit church; that thereupon both besiegers and besieged dropped their fire-arms and resorted to swords and daggers;" Father Rousseau, a Jesuit missionary, wrote from Sidon, under the date of July 4, 1860, to the *Union Franc-Comtoise*, quoted in the London *Times* of July 25: "I lost [at Zahlah] Father Billotet, who belongs to the Franc-Comtois as I do. Three of our holy brethren were murdered near him, Twenty-one nuns are stated to have been dishonoured by the Turkish soldiers and the Druzes in a house in which they had assembled. I cannot, however, positively guarantee this fact, as I do the others. Two of the nuns were killed." There was, to say the truth, a good deal of exaggeration and Mr Brant, nearest to the spot and commanding the best information, confines himself to stating in the letter quoted in the preceding note: "The Druzes entered the town and

And after this the inhabitants of Zahlah dispersed in all directions [taking] the mountain-roads along the deep and long ravines, measuring [suffering] heat and cold and hunger and thirst, and other trials and sorrows. Nevertheless, because of their strength of soul and dignity, they did not wish [scorned to avail themselves of] any of the charitable gifts which arrived from France, and went on to exert themselves [in gaining] their livelihood as they had done before misfortune befell them. And the taking of Zahlah was an event of importance for the Christians in every place [throughout the land] because it had been their main support, and [now] it was [an element of] power to their foes because it inspired them with a desire for [the possession of] all their cities and towns.

(P. 103) SEVENTH CHAPTER

Concerning the massacre at Dayr al-Qamar, which was pitiless and did not [seem to] cease.

Dayr al-Qamar is a town with fine mansions and houses,¹³² situated to the South of Bayrūt at a distance of about seven hours from that city. Its population, consisting of Christians and Druzes, reaches in all about seven thousand souls. It possesses shops and buildings of a beauty not found in any other locality of the Mount.¹³³ And its

after removing the property left behind, which they say was considerable, set fire to many of the houses, but they respected the Convent of the Jesuits at Zahlah and their church at Moalaka. The Druzes soon retired to their homes in the Hauran and I believe will quietly attend to the gathering in of their crops. They have always spared women and children, but they seldom spared a man who fell into their power. A few women have been killed in trying to save men, but it has been by accident." CHURCHILL, *The Druzes and the Maronites*, p. 186, mentions that at Zahlah "amidst the din of battle, the voice of Druze criers was distinctly heard 'Spare the women! by order of our chief, Hottar Amad: whoever touches a woman shall be shot!' A Druze escort was rapidly organised to conduct them safely out of reach of danger."

¹³² Dayr al-Qamar, already a place of some importance in the time of the great 'Amīr Fakhr ad-Dīn al-Ma'ny, owes its later significance as a political centre to the moving thither from Hasbayyā of the 'amirs of the house of Shihāb, and its prosperity to its silk industry while it also produces a good deal of wine and cotton stuffs. Indeed, in its textile products it rivals even Damascus.

¹³³ DE LAMARTINE, describing Dayr al-Qamar as he found it in the 'thirties, says that it did not look like a town at all, still less like the capital of an important district: "cela ressemble parfaitement à une bourgade de Savoie ou d'Auvergne, à un gros village d'une province éloignée de France." *Voyage en Orient*.

people are bold and strong in adversity,¹³⁴ a trait not found in many men. And up to the year twelve hundred and twenty-three¹³⁵ since the Flight, it was the seat of the government of the country,¹³⁶ in the days of the Ma'nite and Shihābite princes. (P. 104) Thereupon the Amir Bashir ash-Shihāb chose to reside at Bayt ad-Dīn and so he built there a large sarāi and resided in it until the year twelve hundred and fifty seven,¹³⁷ when he departed from the country on account of [his relations with] the Egyptian government since the province [of Syria] reverted [then] to the Ottoman Empire. And at the first disturbance in the Mount, the Druzes had [no more settled] purpose [than] to destroy that town [Dayr al-Qamar]. So they lost no time in hurrying up to it and invested it for twenty-three days until they took it by [thanks to] its surrender when it had become the abode of starvation and great misery. And after its surrender the Druzes entered it and pillaged and burned and killed.¹³⁸ And it passed under the authority of the Nakadite chiefs, who also did the evil that might have been expected.¹³⁹ And in course of time the townspeople broke loose (P. 105) from the rule of the Druzes. They said it is

¹³⁴ Also very turbulent, as they proved during the disturbances of the 'forties, when it was only by disarming them that peace could be restored.

¹³⁵ Which commenced on the 28th of February of the year 1808 of the Christian Era.

¹³⁶ I. e. of the Lebanon.

¹³⁷ Which commenced on the 23rd of February of the year 1841 of the Christian Era. It was however on the 12th of October, 1840, that the 'Amir Bashir Shihāb, having been deposed by the Sultan, embarked at Sidon on the British man-of-war which conveyed him to Malta.

¹³⁸ The circumstance that on this occasion as on others the United Greeks sided rather with the Druzes than with the Maronites, is quite characteristic of the relations between the Christian sects in Mount Lebanon. The pillage and burning and killing was put a stop to by the Druze chiefs themselves at the request of the British consul-general at Bayrūt and if the Druzes did not follow up their victory with a more signal humiliation of the Maronites, it was thanks to the moderation of their principal leader, Na'mān Janblāt. Cf OPPENHEIM, *op. cit.*, I, 160.

¹³⁹ The Nakadite chiefs, namely, did not allow the Christians to do just as they pleased, which they resented. The Druze house of Nakad was of old strongly rooted in Dayr al-Qamar and its members considered the Shihābites when these moved thither, as no better than intruders. But the advent of the powerful strangers made their influence dwindle and, still trying to assert their rival authority, some seven of them were put to death about the end of the eighteenth century, at the orders of the 'Amir Bashir Shihāb. After his changing his residence to Bayt ad-Dīn and especially after his removal from office, the Nakad family came to the front again and had a hand in the disturbances of the early 'forties, being careful to safeguard themselves by establishing friendly relations with the Turkish Commissioner Shakib Effendi; cf DE LA JONQUIERE, *op. cit.*, p. 523.

not right that we should be governed by them, wherefore they wished to pass under the standard of the illustrious [Ottoman] Empire.¹⁴⁰ And the Empire granted their request and appointed over them a governor accompanied by a detachment of regular troops, the Nakadite chiefs being driven out. And they remained under the shadow [protection] of the Empire, confident of ease and security. So when the second disturbance arose, they stayed [as mere lookers on] in their place [at home] and prevented their fools¹⁴¹ [the irresponsible zealots among them] and their [lightly inflammable] young men from moving about because in their [system of] administration they had become separate from the rest of the district. So they did not meddle in the proceedings the others meddled in [unlike the others they did not occupy themselves with what was going on]. And they did likewise [followed the same line of conduct] during this third agitation, so that no event [worth mentioning] is recorded of them. And they took moreover the utmost pains, exerting themselves (P. 106) to put down riots and quarrels. And [on a certain day] a number of the notables of the country came to confer with the Sheikh Bashir Nakad¹⁴² because he was a man whom they trusted and upon whose word they relied. And they agreed that each of the [two contracting] parties would try hard to repress war and strife, and disputes and discussion. And that if this could not be [accomplished] in all the land, nevertheless between them and him no evil and mischief would occur. And they departed from him bent upon keeping their covenant, having prevailed over him in [arriving at] this agreement. And they began to exert themselves to the utmost of their endeavor to stop contention and hostility, wishing peace for all the people; and to avoid every cause which militated against the general interest, and to refrain from everything that might occasion excitement and trouble. And consequently quiet and calm did not cease until the Druzes killed one of their men, whose name was Wahabah (P. 107) Sham'ün. And when this news reached the people of Dayr al-Qamar, their anxiety increased and they burned with anger and rage. And they

¹⁴⁰ Petitioning for the boon of direct Turkish rule to be able to chase the Nakad family from what it considered its ancestral appanage.

¹⁴¹ A pun seems to be meant on the word *juhhdil*, plural of *jahil*, ignoramus, fool, also used to designate the uninitiated among the Druzes.

¹⁴² Bashir Bey Abū Nakad, the Druze governor who, at their request, had been dismissed.



regarded it as a key [prelude] to [more] evil, especially when they saw many Druzes of the town girding themselves with their weapons. So, in the circumstances, they did the same thing, fearing that something might happen without finding them prepared. And then [by these doings] their young men's blood was stirred. But the Druzes kept away from them. And [then] it happened that a Christian, noticing a Druze and stepping up to him, grabbed him with a quick movement and snatched his weapon from him and smote him with it and wounded him in the side. And when the chief men of the Christians heard of this, their perplexity was great indeed, and they carried the wounded man immediately to the house of the governor where he died after a little while. And the Christians and the Druzes continued to keep (P. 108) apart from one another, remaining under arms, looking for the occurrence of [ready for] an onslaught, whether in the evening or in the morning. And when things had come to this pass, the Druzes sent persons [messengers] to their chiefs, to acquaint them with what arrived [they experienced] from the Christians. And they [these messengers] left, hastening on their journey, and informed them [the chiefs of the Druzes] that the Christians had killed one of their men [a Druze] and that war had broken out in ad-Dayr [Dayr al-Qamar]. And tidings came to the Sheikh Bashir Nakad that such and such a one had been killed in a soap-factory and such and such a one in a lime-kiln, and another had been shot, and still another had been strangled, and yet another had been stoned to death. And the year before he [Bashir Bey Abū Nakad, their dismissed governor] had wished to build a house outside but in the proximity of the town, but they [the townspeople], afraid of his connection with the Nakadites [being one of them], had put obstacles in his way and prevented him by means of an imperial order,¹⁴³ and this had made a deep impression on his heart, not to mention their expulsion [of him] from (P. 109) ad-Dayr [Dayr al-Qamar] some time before. So when these reports reached him, his vexation greatly increased and he ordered gun-shots to be fired from his dwelling as a summons to the Druzes who lived in the neighborhood. And the day did not pass without the Druzes of al-Munāṣif and ash-Shahār gathering around him; and

¹⁴³ Giving him further to understand that if he did not desist from his intention, they would pull down as fast as he could build. Cf CHURCHILL, *The Druzes and the Maronites*, p. 106.

he equipped them for revolt, raising standards in the court-yard of his house. And he despatched two men to Dayr al-Qamar, to find out for him what truth there was in the current reports, and if they were true to fire shots from the side of Kafr Ḥim,¹⁴⁴ otherwise they were immediately to return. And returning, they informed him that the whole community stood under arms and only waited for that community [the other side] to begin hostilities. So he refrained from attacking that same day, but commanded to hold back [for the moment] and march at night and submit Dayr al-Qamar to a [regular] siege. (P. 110) And some of the Christians, settled in the neighborhood of the town, fled from it, desiring to put themselves under the imperial banner [protection], and nothing happened to them. But the Druzes, when they heard of the wounded man who had died, killed in exchange for [to revenge] him three Christians in those parts. So the fear and vigilance of the Christians who [lived] among them, increased. And this was what induced them to flee to Dayr al-Qamar, there to be safe from danger. And as regards the Druzes in the town, they took all their [movable] belongings from their houses and went away with their families without any one hindering them. And in their state of siege the Christians remained in the worst of straits by reason of the scarcity of bread and flour. And the hardships of the siege did not cease to grow more intense until the Wednesday that fell on the twenty-eighth (P. 111) of the month of May when a secretary of the Sheikh Sa'yd Janblāt, called Qāsim Ḥaṣan ad-Dīn, arrived at Bayt ad-Dīn and in his company a Druze from Ba'aqlīn, called 'Aly Ḥamādah. They were the guests of 'Abd' as-Salām Bey, commander of the garrison, and sent a message summoning the chiefs of the Christians at Dayr al-Qamar. And a small party of the principal [citizens] went to confer with them. And they met them with the utmost friendliness and a cheerful countenance, after which the Sheikh Qāsim produced to them a letter from the Sheikh Sa'yd Janblāt, reading:

To his Excellency, the chief of the exalted and noble, the pattern of the esteemed and honored: After [the expression of] great affection in abundance, and the offering of heartfelt greetings in sincerity, we make known to your beloved person that, even though there has happened between the Druzes and the Christians (P. 112) what has

¹⁴⁴ On the road from Dayr al-Qamar to the sea-coast.

happened of evil and mischief, this ought not to be an obstacle in the way of a reconciliation from which will result universal peace for the whole population of the land, and [ought not to prevent] that on one of these days the chief men of the Christians should go with the Sheikh Ḥusayn Talḥūq¹⁴⁵ and the other persons of consideration, to as-Simqāniyah,¹⁴⁶ in order to arrive in a conference [there to be held] at a peaceful arrangement and a sincere understanding. And from [relying upon] your zeal [for the common weal] and friendship, we earnestly desire that you remain steadfast in your loyalty to [such an] engagement and the obligations [it puts you under], preventing causes of dispute and contention among the ignorant as was your praiseworthy custom in former days. Finis.

From al-Mukhtāra, written on the 28th of May, 1860, signature [signed]: Sa'yd Janblāt.

And when they [the Christian chiefs of Dayr al-Qamar] had become acquainted with [the contents of] this letter, they rejoiced at its [author's] manner of addressing them and they said: We always wished peace and disliked (P. 113) strife, and every one knows that from the very first we have not ceased to work assiduously for the preservation of order. Then they departed with trusting hearts and happy minds, abandoning the suspicions of their secret thoughts. Yet, they had not reached the town [on their way back] before they heard the sound of gunpowder [shooting] from the side of the village of al-Ma'āṣir,¹⁴⁷ and about seventy men of the inhabitants of ad-Dayr [Dayr al-Qamar] had left [that place] to [help] defend the houses of their comrades in that neighborhood. And while they were drawing near [under way to lend their assistance], the Druzes had entered those houses and set fire to them, whereupon they had advanced in the direction of the valley of Dayr al-Qamar. And then these Christian men began to shoot with lead [bullets] at that [Druze] force, killing the standard bearer of the Druzes. And another carried it [the standard of the Druzes] after him (P. 114) and was also killed, and then another and still another until under it [that standard] seven men had been done to death. And besides them some more were killed; so they retreated,

¹⁴⁵ Chosen probably on account of his venerable age: he was past seventy.

¹⁴⁶ Situated where the road from Ba'saqlin joins the main road from Dayr al-Qamar and Bayt ad-Dīn via al-Mukhtāra and Jazzin to Sidon.

¹⁴⁷ 'Ayn Ma'āṣir, a short distance East of Bayt ad-Dīn.

seeking to escape. And the Christians returned to Dayr al-Qamar, keeping good watch that night without going to sleep. And on the second day a captain arrived from Bayrūt with hundred men, bringing a letter from Khürshīd Pasha in which he commended the inhabitants of Dayr al-Qamar for their holding back [from the trouble] and their lack of compliance with [refusal to be drawn into] what [the civil war] the rest of the people of the country had entered upon. And accordingly [in accordance with his admiration for their attitude] he had sent those men for their protection and defence against any hostile attack. And when the next morning came, those men got up to return to Bayrūt without more ado. And with them [went] the women-folk of the troops there present [in garrison], removing their furniture and personal effects. (P. 115) And in the third hour of that day, being the thirtieth of May,¹⁴⁸ the Druzes stormed Dayr al-Qamar like giants, and hemmed it in from all sides and directions, and fell upon it, separating [in their attack] upon it into detachments and squadrons, eager to carry off the spoils, killing the men and [not sparing even] the babes. And between horsemen and footfolk the combatants [of the Druzes numbered] about four thousand, all of them perfectly armed. And the Sheikh Sa'yd Janblāt was foremost among the Druzes of ash-Shūf, having 'Aly Ḥamādah with him, both in the first army [the vanguard]. And the Sheikh Bashir Nakad and some of his kinsmen [led] the Druzes of al-Munāṣif; and some of the Banū 'Abd'al-Malik the Druzes of al-Jurd; and the Sheik Maḥmūd al-'Ayd the Druzes of the Upper 'Arqūb; and the Sheikh Maḥmān al-Amād the Druzes of the Lower 'Arqūb. (P. 116) And a troop of Christians made a sortie [charging them] on the west side opposite [the place where] the people of al-Munāṣif [had marched up]. And between them the flames of the gunpowder blazed up like flashes of lightning, pouring forth on some of them like storm-winds. And things did not cease going on like this until the waning of the day and the drawing near of jet-black night when the fires of war abated and the stabbing and smiting subsided. And the Druzes had not succeeded in entering the town, save in the outskirts where they had burned down some houses, and the Sheikh Bashir Nakad called out to them to turn back. So they departed, going away, and that night

¹⁴⁸ This first attack on Dayr al-Qamar, as early as May 30, 1860, is not mentioned by any other writer we have been able to consult.

not one of them remained. And during the fight many of the men [of the Christian population] had taken refuge in the saraï¹⁴⁹ with their women and children for fear of the [impending] ruin and evil. And of the Druzes more than hundred men were killed that day (P. 117) but of the Christians only seventeen. And when the news reached the consuls at Bayrūt, they repaired all together to al-Hāzmiyah and desired of Khürshīd Pasha that he should restrain the Druzes, turning them away from Dayr al-Qamar, which was under the protection of the Illustrious Empire. And his Excellency Mr Moore, consul-general for the English Empire, desired that he [Khürshīd Pasha] himself should go there to remove the Christians to Bayrūt or to speak with the chiefs of the Druzes that they might spare [the Christians] the trial [otherwise in store for them]. And the Pasha answered that the matter was hardly worth this trouble, and that he would send Tāhir Pasha thither. Now Tāhir Pasha was present and he had already arranged this business with him too. And as regards the Druzes, on the second day [after their having been beaten off], they gathered [again] around the town in a numerous multitude (P. 118) and began to challenge its inhabitants to battle, to come out and charge and drive them off. And the Sheikh Sa'yd Janblāt had arrived at Bayt ad-Dīn with a troop of his men and had put a division of them opposite the town, and had sent [another] division to the assistance of the Sheikh Bashīr Nakad. And they had seven banners with them, fluttering [in the wind], and [the beating of] their drums in front of them [made] a frightful noise.¹⁵⁰ And preceding every division rode its commander, leading it. And when the Christians beheld [saw themselves confronted with] this state of things, they knew that without any doubt the town would be taken. So their hopes fled as the certainty of unavoidable death grew upon them. And since they had had no desire to fight or attack [any one], they had made no preparation in [the matter of] sending for ammunition and provisions.

¹⁴⁹ The saraï of Dayr al-Qamar was built by the 'Amir Fakhr ad-Din. DE LAMARTINE, *Voyage en Orient*, describes it as "un ancien édifice orné de sculptures mauresques et de hauts balcons tout à fait semblable aux restes d'un de nos châteaux du moyen Age."

¹⁵⁰ This does not tally with a statement of CHURCHILL'S, *Mount Lebanon*, II, 301: "The Druzes have no military music whatever. Their war songs, which are most inspiring, are quite sufficient, when they choose to indulge in them, to excite their enthusiasm. In general, however, they advance to battle in the most perfect silence and with the air of men intrusted with a sacred duty."

Moreover they had run out of the gunpowder and food [which they usually had in store]. (P. 119) Though sacks of flour had been sent to them as a gift from Bayrūt, before the arrival of this flour much of it, when under way, had been appropriated by the Druzes. So on this account hunger and high prices [through scarcity of supply] pinched them more and more until the pound¹⁵¹ of flour sold for more than thirty piastres and even then [it was] mixed with dirt. And when the Druzes assailed them on the second day, their chiefs presented themselves to the commander [of the garrison]¹⁵² and requested him that he should either drive the Druzes away from them or give them ammunition to enable them to repulse their adversaries [themselves]. And he said: I am neither permitted to strike at the Druzes nor to give you ammunition, but I advise you to surrender to the Sheikh Sa'yd and he will decide in your case. Now there was a certain Mr Wilam Bard,¹⁵³ a perfect gentleman, noble-hearted to excess, one of (P. 120) the American missionaries. So some of the chiefs took refuge with him, asking that he should go out to confer with the Sheikh Bashīr Nakad and request him to save the town from [the horrors of] war. And at his hour [when ready to start] he [Mr William Bird] repaired to him [Bashīr Bey Abū Nakad] and delivered this speech [repeating the request of the Christian chiefs]. And he [Bashīr Bey Abū Nakad] said: Thy speech will not be disregarded by me and for thy sake I shall do what I can in this [affair], exerting myself to the utmost of my ability; and I have [already] forgiven them though I had it in my power to do otherwise; and even if I had occupied the town, I would not have burned the whole of it down, but I would have desisted from [harming] them [the Christians] out of pity for their women and children, and from carrying off their property and flocks; and now, for thy sake, I shall not allow any one to enter it for fighting purposes. And while the two were engaged in talk and speech, and conversation and exchange of information regarding the cessation of the hostilities and the stopping of the stabbing and shooting, lo! the Druzes (P. 121) of Ba'aqlīn arrived and with them

¹⁵¹ According to HAVA the Syrian pound equals five pounds avoirdupois, but see LANE.

¹⁵² This rather than governor, seems here the meaning of *al-qā'im maqām*; cf. p. 111 of the text.

¹⁵³ Reete William Bird, resident at Dayr al-Qamar, further particulars about whose life and missionary labors during those trying times, may be found in JESSUP, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 188, 711 ff.

a party of the honored sheikhs among the initiated. Entering, they saluted him [Bashīr Bey Abū Nakad] and sat down around him and spoke to him: O most noble lord and trenchant blade [dauntless warrior]¹⁵⁴ Till when [how long] wilt thou spare Dayr al-Qamar? We have come to thee to inquire into the truth of the report. And he replied: The thing has been done and that which was fated has happened and we have no wish for another war. And he had not finished speaking before there arrived to this meeting the Nakadite Sheikhs Salim and Sa'yd, who were accompanied by a strong, armed band of Druzes from al-Gharb and al-Matn and ash-Shāhār, and followed by a crowd of many more of the people of those regions, able-bodied men flocking together about him [Bashīr Bey Abū Nakad] to the number of some three thousand, all of them well equipped with weapons. And as regards Mr William Bird, when [he thought that] he had persuaded the Sheikh Bashīr (P. 122), he returned [to Dayr al-Qamar] and acquainted its inhabitants with what had happened, which restored their composure, but only partially. And that is why they implored the Sheikh Sa'yd to save them, writing to him upon this subject. And he was then [staying] with 'Abd'as-Salām Bey, commander of the troops in Bayt ad-Dīn. And some of their notables beseeched him [in that letter] for [the favor of] a conference, going to see him submissively and humbly. And when face to face with him, they began with throwing themselves upon his mercy, asking his consent [to state their case], entreating him to pity them and to forgive what lay in the past. And in answer to their request he granted them his protection and promised them with gentleness and in a pleasant way, to drive the Druzes away from them and out of their district, affirming what he said with big oaths. And returning from [their visit to] him, they went to the Sheikh Bashīr Nakad and asked (P. 123) his pardon too and [an assurance] of security for the town. And they confided their case to his care, putting their trust in him because he was their hereditary governor who had treated them with kindness and consideration.¹⁵⁵ And he said: This is not my intention, since the affair has already been decreed. No human being can overtake God's purposes, and now I am unable to give you the assurance

¹⁵⁴ Lit. cutting (sword) made in India (of Indian steel).

¹⁵⁵ Rather naive on their part after having chased him and his family out of their town when renouncing the Nakadite rule! Cf pp. 108/9 of the text.

[which you demand]. Why do you not go to the Sheikh Malham al-'Amād¹⁶⁶ to converse with him concerning what you have said when conversing with me? And they said: We do not know except thy gate and shall not repair to any threshold save your Excellency's because we are your subjects and belong to your people, and are fosterchildren of thy father and of thy uncles. Then he said: If the matter stands like this, it is [even more] necessary to confer with the chief I spoke of because he has pledged himself to assist me and it is therefore not right that I should decide in any thing without his knowledge. (P. 124) And furthermore, there shall not be done to the population of ad-Dayr [Dayr al-Qamar] except that in which is their peace and profit. So they complied with his order and had travelled a distance of about a parasang¹⁶⁷ when they fell in with Muṣṭafa ad-Dawayk, one of the notables of the Druzes and chief of their initiated in Kafr Nabrakh. And they told him what had passed between them and the Sheikh Bashīr Nakad, and that they were on their way to meet the Sheikh Malham in that neighborhood, but that they were afraid of [possible] danger on the road wherefore they required him to speak to him [the Sheikh Malham] about this matter and [to ask] that it might please him to send them some one with whom they could [go to] present themselves, the company of such an associate acting as their safe-conduct. Returning, they retraced their steps to their dwellings and only a short time elapsed before the answer came to them that the next day he [the Sheikh Malham] would arrive at Bayt ad-Dīn. And from there he sent them a message to convene them, and they went to him trustingly. (P. 125) And in the afternoon of that day the Druzes entered the unoccupied houses in the outskirts of the town, and carried off everything they found. And in the morning of the second day they set fire to those vacant houses,

¹⁶⁶ The necessity of consulting the chief member of the 'Amād or Yazbak family, which was of Kurdish descent, illustrates the existence of the currents and under-currents and counter-currents in the Druze camp Sa'yd Bey Janblāṭ referred to in his defence when on trial at Bayrūt. The jealousy between the Yazbakites and Janblāṭites, complicated by the ambitions of the Nakadites, the Malikites and so on, had much to do with the chiefs of those factions being unable to restrain their followers when these had smelled the blood of their traditional enemies.

¹⁶⁷ This word of Persian origin stands here for an hour's march on horseback at the usual travelling gait, cf A. DE BIBERSTEIN KAZIMIRSKI, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, or a distance of three Hāshimy miles, cf LANE.

killing every one of the inhabitants they came across. And Mr Bird saved on that day a good many persons from the hands of the [marauding] crowd.¹⁵⁸ And in the fifth hour of that day the Nakadite Sheikhs Salīm and Shāhīn entered the town with a large number of attendants. And on their arrival at the saraī, seat of the government, the local governor and the officer [in command] of the troops came out to meet them with salutations and a hearty welcome. And after a little while they [the two Nakadite sheikhs] distributed their troop [train of attendants, posting them] in every street and alley, pretending that this was a measure intended to keep the Druzes away from the houses and markets. (P. 126) And they ordered the Christians out to bury their dead. So they went out for that purpose. And the aforementioned two sheikhs began to go the rounds of their men in the streets of the town, proclaiming [its] freedom from peril. And the teacher of the Gospel as-Şūsā invited them to his dwelling and set food before them. And after this [having finished their repast], they left the town, taking with them all the Druzes who had been there. And at sunset Tāhir Pasha entered the town with hundred men of the [regular] army, accompanied by the Sheikh Sa'yd Janblāt and 'Aly Hamādah, who had with them about fifteen hundred Druzes. And the aforementioned two [the Sheikhs Sa'yd Janblāt and 'Aly Hamādah] had met and joined him [Tāhir Pasha] before his entry into the town. And the Sheikh Bashir Nakad was with them when they combined their forces. And after the arrival of Tāhir Pasha at (P. 127) the saraī, the chiefs of the Christians waited upon him and brought to his notice their complaints regarding the condition they were in, and placed the reins of their affairs in his hands, requesting him [to restore them to their former state of] safety and freedom from disquietude, and security and tranquility. And he [answering] began to remind them of their offences against established authority in former days, and of their holding rebellious opinions, and how they had disregarded the customs [rules regarding dress and behavior] prescribed for the Christians, exchanging them for those permitted only to Moslemin. Whereupon they said: We have been at fault and implore thee to forbear and forgive for at all times we owe obedience to the imperial commands and the precepts of the illuminating

¹⁵⁸ Sheltering them in his house, which was guarded by Turkish soldiers.

divine law.¹⁵⁹ And he rejoined: The past is past and may your hearts and minds in their ultimate state be free from all wiles and risks! And some of them requested him (P. 128) to permit their going to Bayrūt until the disturbances in the Mount should have come to an end after which they would return to their homes without delay. And he said: [It seems] that you wish to ruin the town by that [your] departure, since this would cause its perdition as well as its depopulation, and the imperial government could not consent to its becoming desolate because you are the children of the Exalted Empire, and Dayr al-Qamar is held in like esteem with Constantinople. So remain in your own place of abode and you will be secure from all misfortunes of the times. Then they requested him to give them in writing what he had just said, in order that they might have the more confidence in [his observing] the obligation he had taken upon him. And he said: Very well, but on the condition that you give me a written agreement, signed by the most influential leaders and the principal chiefs of the town, such as are trustworthy men [guaranteeing] that you will remain quietly in your houses, exercising your proper occupations [connected with your callings and trades] and that you will not meddle in (P. 129) any way in the affairs of the Mount [such as you have no business with]; and that you will submit [leave the direction of] your affairs to the will of the Sublime Empire; and that if any of you commits an offence and the magistrate seizes him, no one of [the other] inhabitants will oppose him [the magistrate]. And they departed from him and occupied themselves with the writing of the document and had it signed by about seventy of the chief inhabitants of the town. And as regards Tāhir Pasha, after their departure he went to Bayt ad-Dīn but his men remained in Dayr al-Qamar, forming as it were a guard [in addition to the garrison]. And the Sheikh Sa'yd Janblāt had preceded him thither [to Bayt ad-Dīn] when between them [the bargain for mutual] assistance and partnership [had been concluded].¹⁶⁰ And the next day they [the Christian not-

¹⁵⁹ The *Shari'ah*, which means, in a more restricted sense, the Muhammadan code of laws. The use of this elastic expression is characteristic in the mouth of Christians under Muhammadan rule and situated as the Maronites of Dayr al-Qamar were at the moment of the conversation here recorded.

¹⁶⁰ At Tāhir Pasha's trial he submitted evidence that such a bargain between him and Sa'yd Bey Janblāt did not exist; that on his arrival at Dayr al-Qamar he called upon the chief men of both parties and admonished them "to lay aside their differences and

ables] repaired with the written [agreement] to Tāhir Pasha in order to present it to him according to his wish. And he commenced his talk with them by saying: It is not concealed from [well known to] (P. 130) you that the agitation which now disturbs Mount Lebanon, emanates from [is the result of] French [intrigue, inciting] the Christians of Bayrūt, who [in their turn incited] the Christians of the Mount, and you will see what the Christian community of Bayrūt will obtain as their share [reward] for this activity. Whereupon they said: If the matter stands as thou sayest, the offence of [raising] the disturbance [complained of] is not ours because we have not associated with any one of the people of Bayrūt, neither with any one of the population of the [rest of the] country. Then they presented to him that document which they had drawn up in compliance with his command. And they asked him for the deed guaranteeing security for the blood [persons] and possessions of all the inhabitants of Dayr al-Qamar. So he wrote them an agreement in which he guaranteed them protection as long as they remained in the town; but if any one left it and got killed, nobody should question him about it [he waived all responsibility]. And in this manner [acting upon this] he despatched on the spot a herald to Dayr al-Qamar [with a proclamation to that effect]. (P. 131) So the population regained confidence and again took up their trades and [usual] occupations: And in the morning Tāhir Pasha alighted at Dayr al-Qamar intending to proceed thence to Bayrūt. And the notables among the inhabitants presented themselves to him and said to him: Lo! thou leavest us while we are in peril of death because our foes surround us on all sides and prevent wheat and [other] food-stuffs reaching us. To which he answered: For the sake of your uneasiness I will stay here until the arrival of the troops

animosities; that thereupon they were reconciled and embraced each other in token thereof and all enmity between them was apparently removed; the Druzes engaged not to do anything to Deir-el-Kamar and both promised not to injure each other. He took a written bond to that effect from the Christians and, although he also demanded a bond from Said Bek and the other representatives, these said they would not give one in consequence of the other Mokatajis not being present, but took an oath to the above effect; that he, Tahir Pasha, thereupon believed in the engagement thus given on both sides and, considering that perfect security had been established at Deir el-Kamar, he obtained Kooshid Pasha's permission to return to the camp, and quitted Deir-el-Kamar, and upon the strength of the engagements aforesaid he gave assurances to the foreign consuls that nothing should happen to the town;" *Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Syria, 1860-61*, p. 302.

which have been sent^{at} at your request, a force sufficiently strong to defend yourselves [with its help]. And after this he stayed with them for two days. And the troops arrived from Nābulus by way of Ṣaydā, about three hundred men with artillery. And when he [Tāhir Pasha] decided [to carry out his intention] to descend to Bayrūt, he called the chiefs of the Christians and the officers of the troops together. (P. 132) And he repeated to them from the first [word] to the last what he had previously said [adding for the special benefit of] the inhabitants [of Dayr al-Qamar]: [Now] rest in safety and security since you have acquired sufficient strength for your protection and the officers of the imperial^{¹⁶¹} troops have been commanded to guard and defend you if a military force is required for that purpose. And when he had finished this harangue he expressed his desire to the most prominent of the men [there present] that they [the Christians] should select two persons from among the heads of families to accompany him to Bayrūt in order to effect a complete adjustment [of outstanding differences] and reconciliation, and to remove [the causes of] discord and contention. And they accepted this [proposal] with the utmost willingness and approbation. And with him went Jorjas al-Halaby and Far'ūn Shā'ūl. And after his departure the Druzes remained, encircling the town and swarming around it, (P. 133) and disputing the passage to every one who wanted to leave or to enter it. And whenever anything in the way of supplies [for the townspeople] arrived, they appropriated it; and whenever they encountered any one of the inhabitants of the town outside [its gates], they killed him. So fear increased in the hearts of the people and hope changed into despair, and their firmness weakened and their thoughts became confused, and darkness settled upon their understanding and mental perception until they were submerged in a sea of dread and anxiety. And they kept on expecting relief from the Deathless, Self-existing [God], but their condition did not cease [to remain the same], beset [as they were] with difficulties and terror, until it was the Wednesday which fell on the sixteenth of June,^{¹⁶²} when it came to pass that a

¹⁶¹ Our author uses here the arabicised Persian adjective *shāhānah*; see J. T. ZENKER, *Dictionnaire Turc-Arabe-Persan*, and cf. C. WILKINS's new edition of J. RICHARDSON's *Dictionary, Persian, Arabic and English*.

¹⁶² CHURCHILL, *The Druzes and the Maronites*, p. 188, says that the Druzes commenced entering the town on the 19th and attacked the sarai on the 20th of June, dates borne out by the official correspondence.

number of Druzes entered the town from all sides, spreading among the houses of its inhabitants. And they [the Druzes] said to them [the Christians]: We have come, being sent by our chiefs for your protection (P. 134) in compliance with an order from the Governor-General. And when they [the Christians] saw that crowd invading their houses without the regular troops offering any resistance, they thought that this thing was unknown [that the authorities did not know what was happening] and presented themselves to the [local] governor and acquainted him with the news. But he said: I cannot restrain the Druzes with words alone and I am not permitted to strike at them, indeed I shall not make such a mistake. So they requested him to call 'Abd'as-Salām Bey from Bayt ad-Dīn. And he sent to call him and after a while the aforesaid ['Abd'as-Salām Bey] came and foregathered with the notables of the Christians and began to allay their fears and gave them new guarantees for their protection and reassured them. And he enjoined them never [on any account] to take up arms in warfare against the Druzes because the Druzes would not begin the fight. And all their [the Druzes'] actions were opposed to the will of the government and would be visited upon them with due punishment, and they would leave them [the Christians] alone without hindering them in anything. (P. 135) And [he added] all this [the preservation of order] will be required of me and the consequences will rest upon me. And know that, if you wage war on them [the Druzes], I shall strike at you with the army; and that, if they begin to fight you, I shall be their greatest antagonist. And when they heard his speech, they perceived its cunning and knew that all [including the regular troops] were turning into enemies, and they were convinced of a dark calamity impending. But they abided [where they were], looking to the Lord of heaven for relief. And as regards the Druzes, their numbers increased up to the point that they succeeded in entering the town. And they began to take out the doors of the shops abandoned by their inhabitants and carried off everything they found in them. So the chief men of the Christians came together and hastened to 'Abd'as-Salām Bey, requesting him to prevent the Druzes doing this, and reminding him of the promises with which he had buoyed up their hopes. Whereupon he said: I do not possess sufficient strength (P. 136) to restrain them. But I will speak with the Sheikh Nakad and ask him to hold them back. And

on the spot he sent a messenger on his part to the aforementioned sheikh, requesting his assistance to prevent the Druzes doing those things. And the messenger had been absent only a little while when he returned accompanied by a party of the Sheikh Bashir's relatives, who were to drive them [the Druzes] away from the shops and houses [of the Christians]. And as regards the Druzes, they moved from house to house and from shop to shop, and the restraint put upon them was rather in the manner of [making] a show [of severity] and [practising] deceit, than in the manner of [real] defence and protection. So the chiefs of the Christians approached 'Abd'as-Salām Bey again, acquainting him with the new turn of affairs, and requesting him to employ the force [at his disposal] to make the Druzes stop these doings. Whereupon he said to them: (P. 137) I cannot do that but the thing for you to do, is to surrender to the Sheikh Bashir because his power is much greater than mine. And they obeyed his injunction and drew up a deed of surrender [for the sake of protection] as intended. And they despatched it to him with a man of the initiated of the Druzes, called Ḥamad Maḥmūd, who took it and presented it to the Sheikh Bashir. And after this only a short time passed before the crowd of Druzes, always increasing, became a vast multitude indeed, and entered the houses asserting that the aforementioned sheikh had sent them to guard [those houses] fearing that the uninitiated might attack and plunder them. And then they began to collect the arms [of the Christians] in token of [the owners'] surrender. And if any one did not [willingly] give up his weapon, they took it by force. [Consequently] great fear took hold of the Christians and deep sorrow; and they felt certain (P. 138) of ruin and destruction and the effacement of [all] traces [of their existence]. And for this reason they began to take refuge in the saraī with their women and children, so that a numerous body of men gathered there together. And about that time a certain Ḥabib al-Bāḥūt¹⁰³ [was standing] before the gate of the saraī near the sentry, and a man of the Druzes, called 'Aly Bashir, attacked him, hitting him with a bullet [shooting him] in front of the troops. And when he [Ḥabib al-Bāḥūt] fell to the ground, he [the Druze 'Aly

¹⁰³ Called Habib Babart in the *Deposition of Shakee and Fathalla Djahami Haleby, Agents of Mr Bird, the American Missionary at Deir-el-Kamar*, sent July 16, 1860, by the secretary of the British Admiralty to Mr E. Hammond, under-secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Bashīr] drew his sword from its sheath and began to strike him with it until he had cut him to pieces and no one interposed in this business. And near to that place they [the Druzes] killed two monks¹⁶⁴ in the same fashion. And on that day the Sheikh Janblāt had sent to the town two of the principal men of the Druzes of ash-Shūf, namely Zāhir 'Uthmān (P. 139) of the Banū Abū Shaqrā'a and Aḥmad 'Aly of the Banū 'Abd'as-Şamad. And they addressed the assembled Druzes in his name, saying: This is the time [moment] we have been waiting for from day to day, and now the [long] expected time [opportunity] has arrived. Dayr al-Qamar has fallen into your hands. So take care not to preserve its memory [to leave a trace of it]! Rather destroy all [and every one], the high and the low, and the invalid and the sucklings [babes at their mothers' breasts]! And burn down its mansions and tear them down to their foundations, by doing which you will relieve yourself and all mankind because this city is a tower of strength for the unbelievers, and a [shield for the] protection of [those] profligates. And any one of you who spares any remnant of the Christian nation [community] shall be excommunicated from the religious community of the Druzes.

And after they had finished this harangue, listened to (P. 140) by the men of influence as well as the common people, three persons from among the religious leaders, sagacious chiefs [initiated sheikhs] who enjoyed great consideration, stood forth, namely Ḥasan Taly' of al-Judayyidah and Fāris 'Allāmah and Salmān 'Ammār, the latter two hailing from Ma'āsir al-Fakhār. And they called out to the crowd of the Druzes, at the top of their voices, crying:

This is the hour we have been longing for since many years and which at last we have found [has struck for us] thanks to the power of the Lord, the Master of creation. And do not believe that you will attain it [your wish] by your impetuous endeavor and your [own] strength, but rather by the might of our Lord al-Ḥākim and his upright ministers.¹⁶⁵ So remember [with dutiful praise] the Lord, to whom

¹⁶⁴ The deposition referred to in the preceding note speaks of one priest.

¹⁶⁵ Distinguished Druzes of the cream of the initiated having the floor, it was to be expected that for the purpose of creating the right mood in their audience, recourse should be had to religious arguments within the range of the uninitiated's intelligence. The five upright ministers of unity are Ḥamzah, the Lord Spirit; Ismā'il, the Lord Universal Soul; Abū 'Abd'Allah Muḥammad, the Lord Word or Eloquence; Abū'l Qayr Salamah, the Lord Gate or Opener; Abū'l-Hasan 'Aly, the Lord Splendor of Religion. Following them

be all glory, the [sovereign] master of mankind, and gird yourselves to assist in a serious and earnest effort for the annihilation of the enemies of our Lord and His religion, whose greatest antagonists they are. And we conjure you to bind yourselves by oath, in the name of our Lord, (P. 141) the worshipped [whom we worship], and of Ḥamzah and Salmān¹⁶⁶ and the other powers of mark, and what has been read at the abode of the lord 'Abd'Allah¹⁶⁷ in the matter of covenants and compacts, that you will not spare one of the [Christian] men. And whatever falls in your hands of personal property and flocks is lawful for you [to keep] and its use at pleasure is permitted to the initiated and uninitiated alike. This is according to the law of our holy institutions and the opinion of our [religious] leaders and our pious, learned men. And every one who disobeys our injunction will turn into a stranger to our nation [be excommunicated] and fall under [invite upon his head] the wrath of al-Ḥākim, the Most Powerful. And if it appears [the idea lurks] in your secret thoughts that they may ask the succour of their [foreign] infidel kings, do not worry about that for the power of the people [future inhabitants] of Paradise surpasses the power of the people of [hell]-fire, and the might of our Lord and His ministers will utterly destroy their kings and their wicked armies.

And when the Druzes heard this (P. 142) injunction, they were confirmed in their zeal and [wish to wage] the holy war. And that night they spent in pillage and plunder and in stripping the women of their clothes until nothing was left in the houses save the stones and the wood [of which the houses were built]. And they examined the women in parts of their bodies which cannot be mentioned, a

in rank are three inferior ministers: 'Ayyūb, the Wielder of Power; Rifa'a, the Right Wing; Muḥsin, the Left Wing. For the other names and titles of these ministers and the functions assigned to them, see GUYS, *op. cit.*, p. 125, and cf SILVESTRE DE SACY, *op. cit.*

¹⁶⁶ Salmān al-Fārisy, the name under which Ḥamzah appeared in a previous existence.

¹⁶⁷ The 'Amīr 'Abd'Allah, an *ajāwid* or perfect Druze of the Tanūkh family, who lived in the fifteenth century, acquired a great reputation among the learned of his sect as a reformer and expounder of their religious law. "Ihm wird eine Interpretation der heiligen Bücher und namentlich eine vortreffliche Ausgestaltung der Morallehre verdankt. Es heißt dass er sich mit der Absicht getragen habe die Gottheit Hakim's zu bestreiten, an seinem Vorhaben jedoch durch die einflussreichen Strengglaubigen verhindert worden sei. Jedenfalls war er die Heiligkeit selbst und noch heute pilgern Christen und Drusen zu seinem Grabe im Dorfe 'Abeih im Libanon." OPPENHEIM, *op. cit.*, I, 137.

thing without precedent [even] among the barbarian riff-raff of past ages or the present. And some of the men of the Christians who had not entered [sought safety in] the saraī, had concealed themselves in spots like caves and water-conduits and hiding-places of that kind. And some of them had left Dayr al-Qamar and gone to Bayt ad-Dīn, taking refuge with 'Abd'as-Salām, commander of the troops. But the women had fallen as a prey into the hands of the Druzes, who carried off (P. 143) the old and the young, and tore the veils [violated the modesty] of girls and matrons [alike]. Then there were screams and cries [for help], disturbing [the quiet of] gulches and river-beds, but there was no one to hear or to answer or to oppose [the outrage]. And in the early morning of the second day all the Druzes drew near to the town, having their women and children with them, leading asses and mules and packhorses and camels to carry away the loads [of spoils]. And they thronged the markets and streets, the ears getting tired of the din they made. And they began to load the baggage [furniture, household goods and utensils they found, on their beasts of burden], not leaving so much as might be worth the value of a tether¹⁶⁸ or might equal a mithqal¹⁶⁹ in weight, without the [local] governor preventing them. And he said to the Christians: I am not able to restrain the Druzes in carrying off what has fallen into their hands. But let every one who possesses anything of value, bring it to the saraī (P. 144) without fear of [losing] it [there]. So those of the men who had dispersed, gathered together and entered the saraī with their families, bringing him what they prized most of their personal effects and jewelry and [other] property. And those who had already entered [sought refuge in] the saraī, did like the rest, and the greater part of the precious objects [in town] was turned over to [deposited for safekeeping with] this trustworthy¹⁷⁰ governor. And

¹⁶⁸ Lit. the "rope with which a camel's fore shank is bound to his arm, both being folded together and bound in the middle of the arm," LANE.

¹⁶⁹ A "weight equal to one dirhem and half," HAVA; "poids d'un trois-septièmes de dirhem," KAZIMIRSKY; "a certain weight of which the quantity is well known (Jāmy of al-Karmāny), a dirhem and three-seventh of a dirhem (Miṣbāh of al-Fayūmī and Qamūs) i. e. the seventh part of ten dirhems (Miṣbāh of al-Fayūmī) or (a dirhem and a half, so in the present day, i. e.) seventy-two sha'Irahs (al-Karmāny, Tāj al-'Arūs) or twenty qibrāts (Hidāyah, Tāj al-'Arūs)," LANE.

¹⁷⁰ Speaking sarcastically, since this trustworthy official tried to appropriate the treasure confided to him, as told later on.

the Druzes carried off what was left in the shops and houses, and dug up the buried treasure and hidden [valuables], and let nothing escape them. And after they had plundered the whole town to their complete satisfaction, they attacked [the people] and began to kill every one they found in the houses, men and [male] children indifferently, without extending mercy either to aged sires or tiny babes, or the lame or the blind, hacking their bodies to pieces with their swords and axes, dismembering the little children (P. 145) and ripping up the bellies of pregnant women and violating the veils of the young women still kept indoors [dishonoring the virgins]. And whenever they had finished plundering a house, they set fire to it, sometimes locking its door upon the women and children inside so that they should burn to death without any means of escape. And they did like this everywhere in town until the smoke obscured the face of heaven, and the market-places and streets were dyed [red] with blood. And after they had completed [their work] on this battle-ground [in this field of destruction], they repaired to the sarai, entering it before [the eyes of] the governor and the officers of the troops, who had guaranteed their [the Christians'] protection. And they attacked the Christians for whom there was no [possibility of] escape or salvation, beginning to shoot at them with lead [discharging their fire-arms at them], and to break their ribs and heads, hitting them with hatchets and axes. (P. 146) And of some of them they cut off the fingers before they were killed, saying to them: These are the fingers with which you have written [traced the sign of the cross]. And they sprinkled water on the heads of some [others],¹⁷¹ saying: Your hair has got [too] long, you should shave it. Thereupon they [the Druzes] fell upon them [the Christians] with their swords and axes to cut them altogether to pieces. And some chopped them up limb for limb to torture them with the most excruciating torment, appearing like the devils who torture man in the ardent fire [of hell]. And they butchered [male] children at their mothers' breasts, and men on the knees of their wives. And there was a woman with her only son, called Ḥabīb Ibn Fāris al-Ḥaddār, and she cried from the bottom of her heart: I am a neighbor of yours, spare me this [son], the only one left alive of all my children! But they slaughtered him at her breast without (P. 147) heeding her anxiety and sorrow. And as

¹⁷¹ In mockery of the sacrament of baptism.

regards her [the mother], she commenced beating her breast, raving like one seized with madness until she fainted and died on the spot. And another woman hugged to her breast a son of six years old, whom they assailed like wild beasts of the woods. And when they tore him from her breast, she wrapped [clung to him, wrapping] him in her robe, while the boy cried [for fear] and clasped her for protection. And she, too, cried loudly, saying: O, my son, life-blood of my liver [heart], no course is open to me but that I redeem thee with my soul from perdition! And she entreated them [his assailants] to consent to this ransom [the offer of her life for that of her little son]. But before she had finished speaking, they hacked him in two and flung him [the pieces] down upon her. And when she saw him in this condition, she went out of the compass of her [mental] equilibrium [lost her balance of mind] and pressed his corpse against her bosom, (P. 148) altogether dazed by the event. And she said: I will not taste [cannot bear] thy loss and will not live after thee! Whereupon she moaned and sighed, and wept and recited [these verses]:

O my consolation in my loneliness! • Thou wert the core of the apple of my eye!

Thou wert my only hope • and my support in my distress!

After thee [Thou having gone] I cannot live a moment! • Without thee what pleasure [has life] for me?

After thy loss [Since losing thee], I • have become disgusted with life.

Thereupon she took a knife and pointed it at her breast, and leaned against it with all her strength, and died at her appointed time and hour. And another woman, when she saw her son butchered, lost her reason and went daft. And she fell down in a swoon, and they burned her with the corpses [that were lying] there, though she was still alive. And of another [woman] they slew the husband [reclining] on her knee and three children between her hands [in her embrace], (P. 149) not heeding her though she cried for mercy, kissing their feet. And if we would enumerate one by one [all incidents] of this stupendously abominable affair, neither the pages of a book nor a pen would suffice to complete [that task] [especially concerning the most] wonderful and astonishing thing [about it, namely] that all this happened in the presence of the governor, [even to] those who clung to his garments [imploring his aid], whom he kicked with his foot as they impeded his advance, and pushed away in front of [when they threw themselves

before] him. But with respect to that which deserves being remembered, it has been written in the contents of the chronicles and records [of memorable events] that many of the Christians of al-Munāṣif and al-Jurd had fled to Dayr al-Qamar because it was under the imperial banner and under the protection of the army, reason why they went to stay there, believing to be secure from danger. So when this hurricane arose, it blew them to the seventh sphere (P. 150) and they repented of that unwholesome idea, but this was the decree of the Almighty and Omniscient. And as regards the Druzes, they waged on that day their holy war indeed until their hands tired of the breaking of skulls and the cutting up of bodies. And there were of them on whose hands the blood had caked so that only warm water could remove the [crust of] filth. And there were of them whose clothes had become soaked with blood, turning to the brilliant hue of the pomegranate blossom. And this scene of battle was of the most uncommon scenes of battle [a most extraordinary one] and the foulest of abominations for the blood ran [like water] and skulls were broken and bodies were torn to pieces and bones were crushed, and the men cried out and the women shrieked and the saraī quaked with the uproar while the Druzes roared and raged. And the Christians were like sheep in the hands of butchers or (P. 151) wood in the hands of carpenters. And this day cannot be compared with [is unsurpassed by other] days, and its like has not preceded [occurred] in past years [times], but with the Druzes it was a feast-day and they considered it a right lucky day.¹⁷² And when they had got through the massacre at Dayr al-Qamar they went to Bayt ad-Din. And when they drew near to [its] saraī, 'Abd'as-Salām Bey collected the Christians who were with him, plunged in great anxiety. And he said to them: I shall not be able to keep the advancing Druzes away from you. So they went out to the open space of the race-ground near the first [old] gate where the Druzes attacked them like wild beasts of the jungle, hacking them to pieces with swords and axes as if they were sheep beset by wolves. And in this massacre (P. 152) one hundred

¹⁷² The Druzes who attacked the Christians that had sought refuge in the saraī of Dayr al-Qamar, belonged to the band of 'Aly Ḥamādah. OPPENHEIM says, *op. cit.*, I, 163: "Mein Gewährsmann behauptete mir gegenüber dass die Mitglieder der vornehmen drusischen Familien sich an dieser Gräuelthat nicht beteiligt und so viel wie möglich auch den Blutvergiessen Einhalt zu thun versucht hatten; das Blutbad sei ausschliesslich von Uebelthätern und Gesindel ausgeführt worden."

and nine of the inhabitants of al-Ma'āṣir and Bayt ad-Dīn were killed, not counting those of the inhabitants of Dayr al-Qamar who there had sought protection, fleeing from [their own town]. And of all those [Christians] who were in the saraī [of Bayt ad-Dīn] only six men were saved, who had entered [taken refuge in] the women's quarters without the occupants allowing their being turned out. So the loyalty of the women [to the given pledge of security] exceeded the loyalty of the men, and their protection was more efficient than that of the pashas and 'amirs who pretended to greatness and majesty. And after the Druzes were through with this slaughter, they returned to Dayr al-Qamar to put the finishing touches to their work [there]. And when they arrived [in the town] the Sheikh Ḥamūd Mansūr Nakad with his brother, the Sheikh Fāris, and 'Aly Ḥamādah and a whole crowd of Druzes entered the [Christian] churches and seized the religious and made them kneel down as they were used to kneel down in prayer (P. 153) and in their invocations [of God]. And while they were in that kneeling position, they [the Druzes] fell upon them with pick-axes and axes and chopped them into mince-meat. And in one of the churches they found a monk and they cut off his fingers and ears, and made him sit down and put pebbles in his mouth, saying: Now then, hold Holy Communion with the body of thy anointed one [Christ]. And then they killed him. And they overthrew the altars and broke the bells,¹⁷² and burnt down what had remained [standing]

¹⁷² "The thing that is struck by the Christians at the times of prayers." LANE on the authority of al-Layl; Ibn Naṣr Ibn Sayyār (held by al-Āzāry to be the author of the 'Ayn which he calls Kitāb Layl), the Sībāh and the Qāmūs. The use of bells for Christian religious purposes was not countenanced by the Turks, though in their European domains the Bulgarians enjoyed in that respect a privileged position, cf. B. BAREILLES, *Les Turcs*, p. 70. M. TOURNEFORT, a traveller of the seventeenth century, relates, as translated by JOHN OZELL, *A Voyage in the Levant*, I, 123, "since the Turks have forbidden them [the Greeks] the use of all [bells], they hang with Ropes to the Boughs of Trees, Plates of Iron, like those Rims which are fixed round Cart-Wheels, crooked, about half an inch thick and three or four broad, with a few holes drill'd through them: they chime upon those Plates with little iron Hammers, to call the Monks to Church. They have another sort of Chime, which they endeavour to tune to the same key with those Iron Plates and they hold in one hand a wooden Lath, about four or five inches broad, which they strike with a wooden Hammer; you may imagine what a Consort it makes. That which they have at their Feasts on High days is but little more tolerable; they jingle a copper Bowl by striking upon it with the Haft of a Knife while the Monks sing through the Nose like our Capuchins." "Habib Risk Allan Effendy" tells us, *op. cit.*, pp. 149 & 159, that the Syrian Maronites were allowed to use bells [which in 1112 began to replace the *simandra* of wood, cf DOWAIHY, *Histoire des Maronites*] and that the

of the town, razing some of its buildings to [their] foundations. Then the women fled, wandering aimlessly in the mountains and valleys, with their bodies exposed [because they were stripped of their clothes], their heads uncovered [their faces unveiled], their feet [sore and] soiled with blood. And the daughters did not know where [to find] their mothers, nor did the mothers know where [to find] their daughters. And all of them underwent great hardship from fatigue and thirst and hunger. (P. 154) And they beat their breasts and slapped their cheeks moistened with tears. And the number of Christians killed at Dayr al-Qamar was about two thousand and one hundred men,¹⁷⁴ some of them belonging to the inhabitants of the aforementioned town and some of them [to other places] who had fled thither under [trusting for safety to] the troops sent for their succour. And the smoke of the conflagration remained for three days, hanging [in the sky] like clouds; and the raven of separation croaked in that locality until it became a mere memory in place of an actual existence, the corpses of its people becoming a banquet for the vultures and wolves, and their blood a draught for the hyenas and dogs. And Khürshid Pasha had arrived at Dayr [Dayr al-Qamar] in the afternoon of the aforementioned day [of the massacre], finding the roads obstructed with the slain, wild beasts and birds [of prey] crowding in on the corpses. And he proceeded on his way from outside [going on without entering]¹⁷⁵ to Bayt ad-Dīn, where he stayed that night (P. 155) without asking how or why. And as regards the Druzes, they passed the night in Dayr al-Qamar, moving about, giving repeated utterance to their joy and satisfaction, unceasingly firing gunpowder [shots] and bellowing songs until morning. And on the second day Khürshid Pasha sent [a messenger] to the Druzes directing them to leave the town and not to return for interference with any one. And whoever did not obey his

Jesuits in Bayrūt, Cyprus and Turkey enjoyed the same privilege. Nevertheless a "large bell, lately placed in the Maronite Church, gave great umbrage," writes Consul Brant from Damascus to Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer a few weeks after the massacre in that town.

¹⁷⁴ M. Lenormant in a letter, dated July 19, 1860, written at Athens to the *Journal des Débats*, makes it 2,730, but the official correspondence reduces the number to 1100 or 1200, *Further Papers relating to the Disturbances in Syria, June, 1860*, p. 45.

¹⁷⁵ CHURCHILL, *The Druzes and the Maronites*, p. 193, makes him pass through the town as he makes Sa'yd Bey Janblāt bandy jests with "his lieutenant" 'Aly Ḥamādah over the mangled bodies writhing in the streets of Dayr al-Qamar, for which accusation there is no more ground than for the charge against his sister Sitt Nā'yfah "feasting her eyes on the ghastly sight" of the slain at Ḥāṣbayyā.

command would be sent into penal servitude¹⁷⁶ for life. And his intention with this proclamation was to hide from the population what [otherwise] seemed evident [enough], until his comrades [confederates] should have joined him. And as regards the Druzes, they did not pay [any] attention to his notice. On the contrary, they persevered in what they were about. And one building had been left [standing] in Dayr al-Qamar for the men of the Jāwīsh [family]. And the 'Amīr Muḥammad Raslān had sent watchmen thither to preserve it from damage. And this (P. 156) building had remained under a guard until after the arrival of Khūrshīd Pasha, with more than three hundred and fifty men of the townspeople in it, who had assembled and stayed there, surrounded [by the enemy]. And a band of the Druzes collected to storm this building, pouring forth upon it like the waters of the ocean. And when its inmates saw their assailants coming and rushing upon them, they packed together all the jewelry and precious objects and cash they had with them, and offered it to the Sheikh Bashīr Nakad in order that it might please him to drive the attacking crowd away from them. And he took what they offered him but did not repulse a single one [of their foes]. And with Khūrshīd Pasha the 'Amīr Malham Raslān had arrived on behalf of his kinsman the 'Amīr Muḥammad, at the head of a party of armed followers to save this building because one of its household, a member of the council, was with him. (P. 157) And after great exertion they took only the men of the Jāwīsh [family] and left the place with them. And after their withdrawal, the Druze crowd entered and despatched every man and boy [they found] there, killing also some women while they were in [the excitement of] this carnage. Thereupon they looted the building, appropriating what was left, and stripped the women of all their ornaments and clothing, and set fire to the building.¹⁷⁷ So the women filed out, their bodies being stark naked, with uncovered heads [unveiled faces] and barefoot. And on that same day the Sheikh

¹⁷⁶ *Lāmān*, lit. the galleys, according to the Greek origin of the word and its earlier meaning in the Syrian dialect.

¹⁷⁷ This incident is also referred to in the *Deposition of Shakee and Fathalla Djehami Haleby, Agents of Mr Bird, the American Missionary at Deir-al-Kamar*, already cited, where we read: "Then the Druses in a body assaulted the house [of] Mr Khalh Shawish, secretary of the Druse Kamra Kam, which had till then been unmolested under the guardianship of Sheik Beshir Merj Niked and some soldiers. They pillaged all the property that had been put there, then massacred all the men and set fire to the house, only Mr Shawish

Janblāt arrived with leading 'Amādite and Nakadite and Hamādite chiefs, accompanied by a troop of their principal kinsmen, to visit Khūrshid Pasha, meeting him with the utmost joy and hilarity. And he thanked them for the information they had given him (P. 158) about the holy war, and their gratifying zeal and ardor. And at the eighth hour of the day he gave notice in Dayr al-Qamar that he would protect the soil and the stones since nothing else remained in it. And on the second day the Druzes burned down in his presence the mansion of the 'Amīr Qāsim ash-Shihāby in Bayt ad-Dīn. And no building had been spared save the sarāi of the governor, which they occupied themselves. And this completed the devastation in that quarter. And the corpses of its [the town's] inhabitants were exposed as a prey for the wild beasts and dogs, and its houses became the dwelling-places of owls and crows. And as regards those who had escaped of the boys and women and maidens, they strayed in the mountains and rugged recesses [of the highlands] and were scattered in the desert and wilderness until they made their way to the neighborhood of Ṣaydā (P. 159) and those regions. And they did not know the night from the day. And some of them stayed there [in Sidon] in the gardens [seeking] shelter under the trees; and some of them in the open squares, under the shelter [seeking whatever shelter these afforded against] [the rays] of the sun and the moon. And whoever of them alighted at the caravansary of the Franks¹⁷⁸ when entering the town, was provided by the consuls with the necessaries of life, sufficient to alleviate [his] distress. And the women of the Jāwīsh people and those who had taken refuge with them, arrived at ash-Shuwayfāt.¹⁷⁹ And the 'Amīr Muḥammad Raslān provided them with clothes and means of subsistence whereupon they were transported to Ṣaydā to join the rest of the weeping and the wailing. And which heart would not have melted when beholding¹⁸⁰ them in that condition? And

being spared with his brother." Another reference can be found in a letter, dated July 26, 1860, from the British consul-general at Bayrūt, N. Moore, to Lord Russell: "It is an ascertained fact that on the day after his [Khūrshid Pasha's] arrival [at Dayr al-Qamar, see p. 154 of the text], twenty-two Christians who had taken refuge in the house of the Druse Kaimakam's secretary were butchered in a body;"

¹⁷⁸ Built by Fakhr ad-Dīn near the harbor and opposite the sarai.

¹⁷⁹ South of Bayrūt near the coast: they seem to have kept to the road which traverses al-Gharb in a northerly direction, while the others took the mountain-paths of al-Munāṣif and al-Kharnūb.

¹⁸⁰ It would be a pity to drop the author's bold figures of speech here and wherever else he wants to produce a fine rhetorical effect.

which eye would not have shed tears at hearing their cries of woe and lamentations? And who could have borne (P. 160) the sight of those girls [customarily] kept in-doors [virgins] exposed in scantiest attire in the market-places? And one from the crumbs of whose table the hungry were wont to be satisfied, now was glad herself to be satisfied with the crumbs that were thrown into the street, and to be dressed in the rags of any kind of clothes, such as are worn by the beggars at the gates. And when [tidings of] this reached the consul-general of the British Empire at Bayrūt, Mr Moore, he sent them ships¹⁸¹ [which he] directed towards Ṣaydā and the Nahr ad-Damūr to convey them to the city of Bayrūt. And they numbered more than four thousand souls and put up at the caravansaries and [private] houses. And after this Khūrshid Pasha returned to his camp at Hāzmiyah, rejoicing in the performance of the duties of his governorship, [having restored] security and having acquitted himself [so well] in the matter (P. 161) of keeping his engagements. And as regards the [local] governor of ad-Dayr [Dayr al-Qamar], when he had acquitted himself of the obligations of his office, which it had pleased the Lord of creation to confer upon him, by bringing offerings and sacrifices, he gathered together the valuables and personal effects that had been deposited with him, and sent them to Ṣaydā, quite a number of loads [for the beasts of burden that carried them]. Thereupon he burned down the sarāi and stripped himself, keeping of his clothes only his shirt on, and went in that condition to Bayrūt, complaining that the Druzes had stormed the sarāi and plundered it and burned it down as they had done with all the other [buildings] in ad-Dayr [Dayr al-Qamar], and then had stripped him of his clothes, leaving him nothing but his shirt. And with regard to the things which he had sent to Ṣaydā, it was his intention to transfer them later on to Bayrūt. And when they had been brought down to the sea-shore, the director of the customs wanted to open them [the boxes in which they were to be shipped] on account of the duties and taxes. (P. 162) But a party of the followers of the [local] governor [already] mentioned opposed his doing this. And then the Christians informed the French consul and he came and opened them [the boxes] without delay. And lo! in them [he found] the things deposited [given in safe-keeping] by the

¹⁸¹ The British men-of-war *Mohawk*, commander West, and *Gannet*, commander Lambert.

people of Dayr al-Qamar. So he seized them to hold them in his hand [in trust] until the moment of their being claimed. And no Turk or Arab prevented him.

EIGHTH CHAPTER.

Concerning the carnage at Damascus and the part played in it by the 'Amīr 'Abd'al-Qādir, the Algerian, who, prompted by exceeding kindness and solicitude, did the right thing with regard to the Christians.

Before we begin our comment upon this massacre, the like of which has not occurred in preceding ages, (P. 163) we deem it expedient to relate its beginnings for these are [offer] an explanation [of causes and effects] to him who is ignorant [of the facts]. So we say [state in the first place] that this event which happened in Damascus,¹⁸² was not sanctioned by the Islāmic religious law as some people believe, but rather the consequence of the rabble getting out of hand and exceeding the bounds of the Moslim code and religion, who [which rabble], building upon unstable foundations, were goaded to the commission of this crime by certain matters and motives among which [not the least important was] that when the Egyptian Government had conquered the country of Syria in the year 1248¹⁸³ of the Flight, equality was established between [all] subjects. This was hard to bear for the ignorant [the lower classes] of the Islāmic part [of the population], but they put up with it though no official orders concerning it had been issued, and most of them submitted to the necessity as if (P. 164) [they complied with it] from their own free will and choice, not as if they disliked it and were constrained to it by force. And another reason was that when peace had been concluded in Paris between the Ottoman and Muscovite Empires in the year eighteen

¹⁸² To borrow the words of Sir GEORGE ADAM SMITH, *op. cit.*, p. 30, "the oldest, the largest and richest, the most steadfast of all the cities of Syria.....[which] has survived the rise and fall of several systems of religions.....has been harried and held by all the great empires of antiquity and the Middle Ages, and has seen them perish.....the outpost of civilization in the Desert and an indispensable market to the nomads of all Northern Arabia."

¹⁸³ Which commenced on the 31st of May of the year 1832 of the Christian Era, Syria being ceded to Egypt by the Convention of Kutayah, May 14, 1833.

hundred and fifty-six¹⁸⁴ of the Christian Era; and the equality of all [his subjects, irrespective of religion] was inserted [in the treaty of peace] as a stipulation [compulsory] on the Sultān; and he issued his order thereanent, affirming it by an [imperial] decree; and the poll-tax was lifted from the necks of the people of the compact;¹⁸⁵ and they [the Zimmies, more especially the Christians] were designated for service in an army of them [for enlistment in the army] like [on an equal footing with] the Moslim troops, [all this] became difficult for them [the lower classes of the Moslim population] to endure, so that they began to look upon the Christians as belonging to the number of those with whom war might be waged and whose blood and possessions therefore had become a lawful prey for the [Moslim] majority. And still another reason was that the Christians, when this political liberty was bestowed on them, did not continue their accustomed relations with the Moslemin, behaving as they had done in former days and years, but dared to put on green clothes of which they were (P. 165) not allowed [to wear] so much as a single thread.¹⁸⁶ And they opened wineshops in the market-places, the coming and the going man drinking of it [wine], which in the eyes of the Moslemin was an affair of grave import because they had been opposed to it since olden times and considered it a departure from [sin against] religion. And this added offence to offence, its existence [the toleration of this evil] having been obligatory upon them by an ordinance which they were compelled to obey, though they did it with reluctance. And they began to watch their chance as the hunter watches his game. And in this they were assisted by the notorious fanaticism of certain men [in the service] of the Ottoman Government, [prejudiced] against the Christian nation [community], quite different from the men [officials] of the Egyptian Government, who exerted themselves to neutralise the causes of contention in every possible manner (P. 166) without

¹⁸⁴ March 30.

¹⁸⁵ Zimmies: the Christians, Jews and Sabians under Moslim rule with whom the compact has been made that they will enjoy security and toleration in consideration of their payment of a poll-tax.

¹⁸⁶ Especially the descendants of the Prophet, whose exclusive privilege it was to wear green turbans, were scandalised by the liberties taken with that color and a perfect storm of indignation arose when it was used for garments unmentionable in plain English: "Que dis-je? certaines femmes chrétiennes osent porter de larges culotes de soie d'un vert aussi éclatant que si elles avaient été taillées dans l'étendard même du prophète!" JULES FERRETTE, *op. cit.*

making distinctions between sects and religious opinions. And for this reason no one in their days encroached upon the rights of any one else, even if he belonged to the greatest among the chiefs. And, speaking of those days, when the ignorant [common herd] of the Islāmic faith noticed the brotherly affection [friendship] of some of the men of the government [officials] for the Christians of the Mount, and their encouragement of the Druzes to that course of action, they longed for the [same] benevolent consideration at their hands, and for the bestowal of the [same] indulgence upon themselves. And especially when [afterwards] they saw the arbitrary doings of the troops in Wādy at-Tayn and witnessed their actions, and found out the designs of Ahmad Pasha, they plotted with him to achieve the destruction of the Christian nation [community]. Indeed, from this moment on their disposition with regard to the Christians changed and they treated them in an insolent way [reviling them] with insults and contemptuous words, and began to threaten them with death and destruction, (P. 167) and to beat them without cause, and they [the Christians] bore all this humbly and meekly, expecting the advent of [new] trials from hour to hour. Then it came to pass that Ahmad Pasha gathered the Christians of the neighboring villages together inside the town and fortified the citadel with cannon and strongly constructed buildings [works of defence]. And the turbulence of the ignorant of the followers of Islām [the lower class Muhammadans] began to increase, and they became more obstreperous and violent. Great fear and deep anxiety took therefore hold of the Christians and they felt sure of ruin and destruction because they could never prevail against artillery on account of their weakness and small number in the midst of those [hostile] crowds. Nor were they able to flee because in whatever direction they might go, there were stations with Moslemin and Druzes [who had posted themselves] all through the land. (P. 168) So they presented to Ahmad Pasha a petition from the hand of [drawn up by] their bishops, asking him to give [them] assurance [of protection]. And he sent to them [in the Christian quarter] the troops which had been at Hāṣbayyā and Rāshayyā to stay with them as a guard. And he assured them that he would not do them the least harm and that they could dismiss their disquieting thoughts because [whatever touched] Damascus was the special and direct concern of the Sublime Porte; and that he would not permit the smallest damage to [be done to]

its inhabitants. So the fear of the Christians was to a certain extent allayed by this answer. And the troops and their officers stayed with them for days and they [the Christians] gave them to eat and to drink, and offered them presents and gifts as a strong inducement to them to abstain from acts of spoliation. And as regards the Muhammadans, when they came to know the inner meaning of the secret [what this military display in the Christian quarter really meant], their [already] frequent trespasses [against the Christians] and arrogance did not cease to increase from day to day (P. 169) until they began to shape [erect] crosses in the roads and against the walls, hanging upon them their images [the images which the Christians revered] [cut] in paper or wood, with tails and necks [heads] of dogs. And they forced the Christians to spit upon those crosses, vilifying them; and to trample on them [the signs of the cross they had traced] on the ground, doing homage to them [in that fashion]. And when so occupied, they said to them [the Christians]: This is your god, O accursed ones! So abjure it, O enemies of God and religion! But they [the Christians] did not dare to use force against them [the Muhammadans] because they thought of the people of Zahlah and the [hostile] bands that were around that place. And the Christians repeated [their petition] to Ahmād Pasha from the hand [through the intermediary] of the consuls, and he tranquillised them according to his custom (P. 170) with delusive assurances. And when it was the morning of the Monday falling on the ninth of July of the year 1860 of the Christian Era, which concurs with the year 1276 of the Flight, an important council was held at the Pasha's. And among those present were 'Abdy Effendy and Sa'yd Agha Ibn Shamdin Agha and Ahmād Effendy al-Islāmbūly and the chief of police,¹⁸⁷ the secretary of the commander of the army attending their meeting. And they agreed in believing it expedient that the chief of police should go with some armed attendants to arrest those who had excited the animosities of the Christians by [showing their] contempt for the crosses, and then to put brooms into their hands as if they were scavengers, and shackles on their feet, treating them like convicts, and to summon [command]

¹⁸⁷ Our author writes *tafkajj bāshy* for *tafankajj bāshy*, a Turkish expression: "porte-fusil, officier de la garde du corps chargé de présenter le fusil au Sultan à la chasse ou au tir. Il avait le privilége de marcher à côté du cheval du grand-vizir, les jours de cérémonie et dans les cortèges officiels," BARBIER DE MEYNARD. Hence the meaning: "chef de la police, composée de soldats irréguliers, ou chef du marché," MALLOUF.

them [the prisoners] to go with them [the squad of the chief of police] and sweep the Christian quarter of the town. And the purpose of this was to rouse the anger of the Moslemin and to incite them to rise [in opposition against this act of retaliation]. (P. 171) So they departed, taking brooms and iron shackles with them, and arrived at the market of the Bāb al-Barid,¹²⁸ where they met two young men of the companions of [who had participated in] that offence, whom the policemen arrested and gave brooms to carry and secured with the shackles and drove in front of them while they called out this announcement [the order they had to execute] in the market-places, until they arrived in the Christian quarter where the two began to sweep the streets. And tidings of what had happened to Zāhlah and Dayr al-Qamar had come to Damascus, which raised the imaginations of secret thoughts and strengthened all weak resolutions. And when they [the populace] saw at that moment those two young men in that condition, they were stirred and foamed with rage like camels [that object to a load which they consider too heavy]. And a crowd of them attacked [the police] and released the two [prisoners] from their fetters, and a party of them hurried to the great mosque,¹²⁹ (P. 172) and they had an interview with the Sheikh Abd'Allah al-Halaby [which lasted] about a quarter of an hour, whereupon they left him, running and shouting at the top of their voices: Oh, zeal for the [true] religion! And by this time they [the Muhammadans of Damascus] had about six thousand iron axes made [for their use] and put them in their shops with swords and muskets,¹³⁰ and they took these weapons out in a quarrelsome mood as if they were intoxicated, and assailed the Christian quarter in troops. And those of the soldiers who were there, but did not know of the Pasha's wicked intention, fired at them with lead [bullets], killing two and wounding several more.¹³¹ So the

¹²⁸ The Mail-Carriers Gate which opens on the Bazar of the Booksellers.

¹²⁹ The famous Jāmy al-Umawy, once the Church of St John the Baptist, where his head used to be shown, the Damascenes swearing to this day by that revered relic, though deprived of its sight for quite a while.

¹³⁰ "The mob, with the exception of the Bashi-Bozouks, were very ill armed. Only a few had muskets, some had pistols, some had swords, a great many had battle-axes or daggers, but the great majority had only clubs or sticks. Perhaps not more than one in twenty had a gun and many of the guns were of little value." *Memorandum* sent from Bayrūt, September 23, 1860, by Lord Dufferin to Lord Russell.

¹³¹ It was Colonel Sāleḥ Ziky who ordered his men to fire on the riotous mob, which made them retire to advance again when his action was not followed up through a mis-

crowd took to their heels, bent on flight. Now if the Pasha had wished to preserve order, verily this would have been sufficient to extinguish that fire [to quell the disturbance], because after this [their warm reception] (P. 173) they remained for about half an hour in a condition of quiet and rest. But then a bugle was sounded in the citadel [a signal for] the troops to assemble there with despatch. And they fired cannon with gunpowder,¹⁹² and a piece of wadding [fell] on the roof of the market near the Christian quarter and set it on fire. And the Muhammadan country-folk who were there, turned to plunder and burn the Christian quarter, having plotted with Druzes from outside the town,¹⁹³ who joined them, forming a numerous multitude. And [they considered] the possessions of the Christians a booty lawful to [free to be appropriated by] every one of them, at the disposal of the high in rank and lowly alike. And the first objective of their attack was the chancellery of the Muscovite [Russian] consul, whom they wished to kill. But he was absent at the moment and so they could not get at him, killing however (P. 174) Khalil Shahādīh,¹⁹⁴ the dragoman, and they did the same to every servant and attendant they found in that place. Thereupon they turned [their attention] to the chancellery [consulate itself], plundering it, and after they had thoroughly sacked it, they burned it down. And in the same way this deluge [mob] overflowed [overran] the Austrian and American and Dutch and Belgian and Greek chancelleries [con-

apprehension, as he pleaded later on, of the instructions of Colonel 'Aly Bey, his superior in command of the force detailed to guard the Christian quarter.

¹⁹² According to other accounts, cf for instance CHURCHILL, *The Druzes and the Maronites*, p. 211, only one cannon, merely loaded with powder, was discharged by the Turkish guard near one of the Greek churches, a piece of wadding falling on and setting fire to a mat covering, stretched over one of the bazars. This Greek church seems to have been that of St Mary in the Jewish quarter, to the North of the "street which is called straight," *Acts*, IX, 11, a modern building erected on a site of ancient renown, namely, the place where, according to PORTER, *op. cit.*, I, 56, "the two great Muslem leaders, Khālid and Abu 'Obeidah, met when they had obtained access to the city, the former by treachery and the latter by treaty; and [where] after a stormy scene, during which the lives of the citizens trembled in the balance, pacific counsels prevailed and the captured city was equally divided between Muslem and Christian."

¹⁹³ Haurān being the granary of Damascus, besides providing it with other agricultural products, the presence of Druzes in town does not necessarily imply the existence of a plot between them and the low class Moslemin for the extermination of the Christians.

¹⁹⁴ Called Halil Spēhādī in a letter from the British Consul-General N. Moore at Bayrūt, dated July 13th, 1860, to Lord Russell.

sulates],¹⁹⁵ but did not find any of the consuls except the American consul,¹⁹⁶ whom they beat and wounded. And believing him dead they left him. And meanwhile these crowds poured into the Christian quarter, killing the men. And they dismembered¹⁹⁷ the little children and carried off all the furniture and [other] possessions [of the Christians], and took the women and girls captive, and burnt down the monasteries and churches and houses. And they ripped up the pregnant women, (P. 175) killing the unborn children;¹⁹⁸ and stripped the [other] women of their clothes and left them naked, a spectacle to the public gaze; and had openly carnal connection with those who pleased them of the girls and women; and examined them in parts [of their bodies] which it is not proper to mention. And they sent to their lodgings the women whom they fancied, and detained them there, forcing them to do their will. And some of the men they urged to embrace Islām, and occasionally they spared him who answered right [reciting "the word," i. e. the Islāmic confession of faith], but then again they killed him [such a renegade] immediately after his conversion to Islām,

¹⁹⁵ All the European consulates were attacked, except the British, just to the North of the 'Umayyad mosque, and the Prussian, off the Bazar of the Greeks, both outside the Christian quarter.

¹⁹⁶ A letter from Bayrūt, dated July 11, 1860, tells the readers of *La Presse* (cf. the Paris correspondence of the London *Times*, August 2) that "M. Costi, the United States Consul, was seriously wounded and had a very narrow escape from the hand of the assassins. M. Costi is a native of Damascus and of Arab extraction; he has worn the European costume for seven years." A month later, September 1, 1860, a special correspondent of the London *Times* (issue of September 21) writes from Bayrūt: "Dr Michael Mechaker, the American vice-consul, was wounded by a hatchet on the head, by a club over the eye, by a sabre on the right side and on the right arm;" The M. Costi of *La Presse* is probably a figment of an editorial brain unversed in the uses of the Italian word *costi* (there, in that place) and Dr. Michael Mechaker of the London *Times* no other than Mikhail Mashaqāh, bearer of a name also well known in mathematics and music, cf. the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. I (1849) pp. 171/217. The *Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Syria* 1860–61, p. 143, speaks of an American missionary, named Frazier, whose house was one of the first broken into. A despatch, dated July 16, 1860, from Mr Brant, British consul at Damascus, to Lord Russell, informs the latter of the murder during the massacre, of the Irish Presbyterian missionary William Graham: "The murderer is known and openly avows his crime; the reason he gives for committing it was that he believed him to be a consul."

¹⁹⁷ "The verb used here as on p. 144 is *fasaba*, séparer les joints," R. DOZY, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, on the authority of Abū'l-Walīd, 735, n. 88.

¹⁹⁸ Another instance of non-Christian notions persisting with the native Christian author, who clings to the idea that life begins before the actual birth, at the moment of conception.

alleging that, if he remained alive, he would return to his error. And they killed the priests and the monks,¹⁹⁹ the lame and the blind, and whichever woman attempted to defend any of her people. And the Europeans among them had no longer respect at their hands, nor consideration, nor honor, nor esteem; but they [the Moslemin] (P. 176) treated them just as they [the Europeans] had treated the people of Damascus, without distinction or discrimination. But it was the devil who prompted them [to think] that the fire of Europe had turned to ashes and [the steel of] their [the Europeans'] swords to wood. So they paid no longer any attention to them [the Europeans] nor considered them of any account. And this business lasted in this manner for nine days without any break or intermission. And the night was with them like the day because the conflagration gave them light with its flames of fire. And so nothing was concealed from them, nor were hidden from them any subterranean passages or secluded corners. And they went down into the wells and killed all and every one who had descended into them [trying to escape]. And they ascended to the roofs and seized whomever they found there. And some of those hidden in the wells, when they had saved themselves from the Moslemin, the walls fell down (P. 177) upon them [were buried under the falling walls], and they died under the stones in the mud. And during those days [things] of this nature occurred in the Chrsitian quarter, pitiful [things] such as the eye had never beheld, nor the ear heard of, and by worse than which the heart had never been moved because one saw the blood flowing like rivulets and the blaze of the fire mounting to the clouds of heaven; and the smoke obscured the face of the earth like a mist; and the uproar was echoed and reechoed by the valleys and ravines; and the cries for help of the women and children were enough to rend the stoniest heart. And the women ran off barefoot with their bodies uncovered, and the heads [of the men] rolled [over the ground] like balls before the mallet.²⁰⁰ And (P. 178) many of the Christians died in the fire of the burning houses. And there were of them who remained concealed in

¹⁹⁹ "The Franciscan monks were all killed. The Lazarists were saved by the Emir Abd-el-Kader. About thirty ministers of religion, including the Franciscans and a Protestant missionary [Mr Graham, already spoken of], were killed. Of the native priests only five or six escaped." *Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Syria*, 1860-61, p. 146.

²⁰⁰ In the games of mall and polo.

[some hiding-] place where they starved to death for lack [of the possibility] to obtain food. But many of the Moslemin scorned to disown the Christians and provided them with excellent eatables and sent to them plenty of money for their expenses [to cover the expenses for their sustenance]. And in [the suburb of] al-Maydān²⁰¹ were [lived] Ṣāleḥ Agha al-Muhāyīny and Sa'yd Agha an-Nūry, companions of manliness and religion [doughty and righteous men], who forbade the Moslemin of al-Maydān to interfere with [undertake anything against] the followers of Jesus [Christians]. And Ṣāleḥ Agha received in his house a party of fugitive Christians, and gave them food and fruit time after time. And a troop of Druzes had come to al-Maydān to commit there the excesses (P. 179) which they had committed in the city proper. So it rose in arms against them and did not allow a single one of them to enter the place. And a thing which deserves mention is that the Christians of al-Maydān were afraid of its inhabitants on account of the many turbulent characters within its confines. And they thought that the population of the city proper [consisted] of men of a better and more friendly disposition, lords [paragons] of loyalty and trustworthiness, for the reason that [they counted] among them chiefs and people of distinction and culture. So when they noticed the first indications of rancor among the people, some of them felt inclined to flee to the city proper, and many of them sent thither the personal effects and furniture and valuables they possessed. But they were there despoiled of all their belongings and most of them suffered a miserable death.

(P. 180) And the magnanimous and most noble personage of illustrious rank, the glorious, highly honored lord, the master of all sciences in the highest degree, the climber in dignity to the most exalted functions, the possessor of surpassing excellence and of pure, undefiled lineage, the 'Amīr 'Abd'al-Qādir, when he saw those dreadful happenings and the disturbances that took place in the city and the ruin and havoc [wrought], pity and anger took hold of him and his proud character urged him to the rescue of the Christian nation [community] and to its deliverance from this trial by diligent intervention in the market-places. And he distributed his gallant attendants in all

²⁰¹ An outgrowth of Damascus, which, thanks to its traffic and especially to its being the terminus of the great caravans, including the yearly one to and from Mecca, has become almost a city by itself.

streets and lanes, and engaged the riotous crowd and extinguished this blazing fire and saved a great number and [indeed] a large multitude of men and boys, and girls and women; and removed from them (P. 181) the swords of injustice and tyranny. And he changed their fear into confidence, treating them with the utmost kindness; and soothed them with gentle, gracious words, consoling them with regard to that which had struck [chanced to] them [their misfortune], and what had befallen and overtaken them [their sorrow and affliction]. And he spent upon them in this long time [of their trial] a large sum of money, [in fact] a considerable amount of his wealth, which made him occupy a rank twice as high [as he had held before] and raised him in the esteem of kings, and gained him the praise of all contemporary reigning princes who tendered to him their high encomium concerning this action [followed by] precious gifts and presents which successively reached him on their part, and insignia of the first degree of nobility [of orders of knighthood to which he was elected].²⁰² And so he earned a glorious name and a famous reputation [which] will diffuse its perfume like amber from generation to generation by reason of the zeal and solicitude that emanated from him. (P. 182) I myself recited to him as an expression to his Excellency of thanks and praise:

Toward the 'Amr of Damascus not cease • to direct themselves [converge] salutations in [from] beginning and [to] end.

He entered her [Damascus] when death was bound fast to her, • and men had become [like] meat on the meat-plank;

And he was like water poured out, overcoming [extinguishing] the flame, • [which] quenches the thirst and overflows the burning fire,

And every [period of] time in her streets became • like a night of the nights of the sacred months.

He has set up in her [Damascus] a memorial [for himself, which will last] until the day of resurrection, • [and which] can almost be read by the dead in their graves.

He gave souls their life, by the permission of God, at the time • when the wickedness of the evil-doers reached its height, and he did not allow the shedding of blood.

Whoever wards off death from a soul, • it has received from him its life as though he had created it from nothing.

²⁰² Sultan 'Abd'al-Majid raised him to the highest class in the order of Méjidié, the Emperor Napoleon III sent him the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor, the President of the United States a pair of gold-mounted revolvers, properly inscribed.

May he not cease, throughout all time, to be held in honor and esteem & together with his children and all the rest of his kin!

And if we wished to state in full the excellence [excellent work] achieved by this venerable prince and eminent, generous lord with respect to benefits conferred and many good deeds done, verily we should need a big volume. May God preserve him and lengthen his life! And keep him [from harm] and guard him! And aid him (P. 183) in his exemplary life and be gracious unto him! And bestow all possible favors by his hand! And Ahmād Pasha wished to smite the people of Damascus as he had smitten the people of Wādy at-Taym and Dayr al-Qamar. So he ordered that those [of the Christians] who had succeeded in saving themselves should go to the citadel²⁰³ where they would be secure from danger, claiming that he would not be able to keep the Moslemin away from them as long as they remained outside the citadel. So they went there in something of a hurry. But this deceit did not altogether accomplish his purpose because the Maghrebines and the inhabitants of al-Maydān were averse to [compliance with] his desire. And some of the people of the city had been drinking and it was therefore inevitable that quarrels should break out between them [Christians and Muhammadans]. And the number of the Christians who were killed in this collision was about five thousand men²⁰⁴ of the population of the city (P. 184) and the surrounding dis-

²⁰³ The idea was 'Abd'al-Qādir's according to the native author of *The Unveiling of the Troubles of Syria*, part of whose narrative is appended to Professor MARGOLIOUTH'S work on *Cairo, Jerusalem and Damascus*, already cited: "Finally, when he ['Abd'al-Qādir] had got round him 12.000 refugees, his palace was too small to hold them, and he requested the brutal Governor, Ahmād Pasha, to order that they should be received in the Citadel, after having obtained from the Turk the most solemn promise that he would do them no harm." This promise was kept. Ahmād Pasha, apparently afraid that with the comparatively small force at his disposal, he would not be able to quell the rising, had put the citadel in state of defense and moved also his own family thither. The stronghold, which dates from the time of the crusades, was with its solid walls a sufficient protection against any mob.

²⁰⁴ The author of *The Unveiling of the Troubles of Syria* puts the number of the slain in Damascus and its suburbs at 6000. Others raise it still higher and the official reports disagree. If it be true that "die heutigen Damascener das fanatischste, eingebildete und doch dabei unwissendste Volk in ganz Syrien sind," as VON KREMER remarked a decade before this massacre, *op. cit.*, p. 95, on the other hand they had had great provocation. The instances in proof already given, tally for the rest with the traditional relations between the Christians and Moslemin in that ancient city, which "appear rarely to have been cordial," MARGOLIOUTH, *op. cit.*, chapter XII. Cf chapter XIII, *Scenes from the History of Damascus*, where we read: "When the Christians of Damascus saw the city

trict. And among them were thirty-two Austrian priests²⁰⁵ and one English clergyman.²⁰⁶ And this does not include those of the grown up people and young children who died in the citadel and elsewhere in consequence of wretched conditions of life and abject misery. And some two hundred of the riotous mob and their confederates were killed in this onslaught since they began to quarrel about [the division of] the spoils and the captives, which caused some of them to be slain in [the heat of] this dispute. And if we wished to enumerate one by one the shameful acts which they committed, it would require a big book. But, not to weary the reader, we shall mention [only] a few of them [chosen] from many, so we put on record that a Christian man, a citizen of Damascus, called Shahādah al-'Aky, dug [holes] (P. 185) in certain corners for his treasure, which he buried in three caches. And when they [the mob] had finished pillaging his house, they asked for the price of his blood [a ransom] that they might

occupied by Mongol troops, they produced an order from Hulagu, granting them protection, and armed with this they proceeded to defy their oppressors. Mohammedan historians relate with indignation how they drank wine publicly, even in the fasting month, spilling it on the garments of the Moslems and the doors of the mosques; how they compelled the Moslems to rise when they passed with the Cross before them Moslem shops, insulting any who refused to do so. They ran through the streets singing psalms and proclaiming that Christ's religion was the true one; they went so far as to pull down mosques and minarets that were close to their churches. The outraged Moslems made complaint to the Mongol governor, but he being a Christian disregarded them and caused some of them to be beaten. It seems strange that the Christians made no defence in 1860, though they numbered about 20,000 in a population of about 150,000, VON KREMER, *op. cit.*, p. 247/8. Only a few shots were fired on the mob by native civilians, emboldened by the action of Colonel Sāleḥ Ziky, referred to in Note 191. "With the exception of the very lowest class, the settled Mussulman population of Damascus took no part in the slaughter of the Christians. On the contrary, Ulemas, Mollahs and Sheikhs of the different religious orders of Islamism, and many of the notables of the place, were active in saving Christian lives wherever an opportunity of so doing offered itself;" Correspondence from Constantinople, dated August 1, published in the London *Times* of August 14, 1860. To summarize, Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer's estimate of the event seems worth recording: "It is true, the populace of the city of which I am speaking [Damascus] were excited by fanatical feelings or made such feelings a pretext for their disorders, but the misdeeds of a populace should hardly be held as giving colour to the character of a creed or nation, the more especially when it is reflected how many circumstances apart from religion told on the late transactions; and in Turkish history no similar act is to be found; and Christian mobs have at various periods equally disgraced, with the name of the God of Mercy in their mouths, the purer doctrines of the Christian faith." Letter, dated Constantinople, December 11, 1860, to Lord Dufferin.

²⁰⁵ These padri were probably the Franciscans referred to in Note 199.

²⁰⁶ See Notes 196 and 199.

spare his life and leave him alone. So he disclosed to them one of his caches and they took it [the treasure there hidden] and killed him. Now he had a wife and two sons so they seized the eldest [boy] and asked him the same thing which they had asked his father. And he disclosed to them the second cache and they took it [the treasure there hidden] and killed him whereupon they repeated the question to his brother. And his mother stepped forward and threw herself down at their feet kissing their shoes and entreating them to spare him to her [grant her his life], but they would not consent unless she redeemed him with [her husband's] treasure. So she ran to the third cache which contained the rest of their wealth with her ornaments. And they took it, intending to kill him [her second boy], too, but she clasped him to her bosom and drew him to her bowels [held him in close embrace]. And [again] she began to entreat (P. 186) them but they did not listen to these entreaties. On the contrary, they hacked the boy to pieces with swords and axes, and hit the mother, [aiming] some strokes at her, cutting the flesh and breaking the bones. Thereupon they burned the house down and got safely away.

There was furthermore a priest, Yūsuf al-Kakk, one of the Greek clergy, who had received the amount of his due [died] a short time before the attack [on the Christians took place]. And when they entered his house they cut him [his body] into four pieces, saying: This is due to Christians even if it be after their death. Thereupon they went through [searched] his house and plundered it. And when they had cleaned it out, they burned it down.

And if we wished to narrate [all] what happened to those smitten by calamities and dreadful experiences, and how they were treated in it [their trial] by the people of human feelings with zeal [for their rescue] and kindness, verily we could fill with it many (P. 187) pages.

Anecdote.

And among those [happenings is] that a man of the Christians when he saw the state of things brought about, was overcome with such a terrible fear that he almost died of it. And he let himself down with a rope into a well he had there and hung suspended to the steps in the wall of the well and remained waiting in that [position], expecting death. And after a little while he heard a noise in the house and he raised his head to see [what it was] and lo! fire had been set to it..

Now he had an upper chamber overlooking the well and he noticed that the fire had [already] reached it. So his fear increased and he felt sure of being lost because that upper chamber was soon to fall down upon him. Yet he bore up for a short space until the [crackling] sound stopped, when he crawled up from the well into his dwelling and found that the partition wall between him (P. 188) and his neighbor had given way, falling down. So he entered his neighbor's house, which was contiguous to the town-wall. And he ascended to the roof in order that he might find means of escape, reaching in that manner the outside [open country] and taking refuge in a more secure quarter. And when it was the hour of sunset he [still] tarried a little while until darkness would hide him from the eye of man. And the people of the house had stretched upon the edges of the roof a number of ropes for the purpose of spreading their washing on, which he took, tying them together. And he bound their end to one of the corners of the roof and climbed down by it [the tied ropes] until he was outside on the ground, immediately running off, wishing to effect his escape.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁷ The man must have come down between the Bāb ash-Sharky and the Bāb Kisān where since times immemorial the rope-makers ply their craft, near the place where, until lately, the window was shown from which St Paul made his escape, being lowered by night in a basket, Acts, IX, 25, notwithstanding the fact that, if the lower courses of the city wall are Roman, joined without mortar, the central ones are plainly of Arabic and the higher ones of Turkish construction. Why, however, shy at that window and accept for the place of St. Paul's conversion either the spot whither Martin Baumgarten was conducted by some noble Venetians in January, 1508, or the one nearer town whither the scene of that event was transported later on for the greater convenience of sight-seeing travellers, incidentally to the greater advantage of guides from among the Damascene priesthood? "In the days of the crusades, as we learn from de Vitry, the spot where the miracle was enacted was believed to be near the village of Kaukaba, between two little hills, about six miles west of the city on the great road to Jerusalem; and the tradition remained undisturbed for more than five centuries, for this is the place that was shown to d'Arvieux..... Sceptics may smile at the absurdity of placing it on the east side of the city, while the great road to Jerusalem runs to the westward, but the faithful can reply as some have done with regard to the Church of the Holy Sepulcre, that the very unlikeness of its situation forms a convincing argument in favour of its genuineness!" PORTER, *op. cit.*, I, 43. Speaking of this—Damascus and its environs offer a perfect macédoine of "lions," some of the highest antiquity, for the edification of visitors of many creeds, cf. G. HIRSCHFELD, *Wandlungen und Wanderungen in Kleinasiien (Aus dem Orient)*, where he speaks of the experiences of Bertrandon de la Brocquière, Seigneur de Vieux-Château, a Burgundian nobleman who travelled in Asia Minor and Syria in the years 1432-33: "Denn was damals den Glauben guter Pilger zugemutet wurde, mag man daraus ersehen, dasz auf einer Höhe bei Damaskus das Wohnhaus des Kain gezeigt zu werden pflegte." Not far from the white-domed tomb where Bilāl al-Habashy, the Ethiopian of the strong voice, the Prophet's crier and first official muezzin, is said to be buried,

And though in his perplexity he did not know where to go in that desert plain²⁰⁸ [before him], he did not stop marching on for about an hour and a half until he got (P. 189) to a village in the last extremity of distress and weakness. And to his intense satisfaction a roomy, spacious house appeared to him in the distance. So he betook himself thither and knocked at the door. And its master said: Who knocks at the door of the house? And the man was afraid, being convinced of death and destruction. But he answered: I am a man of the Christians of Damascus, who has escaped under cover of darkness and has come to your part of the country to put himself under your protection. And the master of the house said to his son: Get up, O 'Uthmān, and kill this hateful unbeliever! With us there is no protection for Christians. And when the man heard his words, becoming aware of his intention and desire, he loosened his legs to the wind [took to his heels] and ran away through the open country until he arrived at another village (P. 190) [where] he knocked at the door of one of the houses. And they said: Who knocks? And he answered as he had answered the people of the house [at which he had knocked] before. And the master of the house had a son, who came out to him with a sword in his hand intent upon making his head fly from his body. But meanwhile his father had got up and pushed him away from that poor man, and bade him [the fugitive Christian] enter the house and solaced his heart, and quieted his fears and alarm, welcoming him with affability and kind regards, and setting before him such food as he had to offer. And then he clad him with clean clothes and ordered a carpet to be spread for him, that he might sleep. And treated like that he [the Christian] remained with him [his host] for ten days. And he fell sick but [his host] nursed him with medicine until his illness left him. And after this [when he felt better] he

we are now expected to spend a few moments in meditation—and bakshish—at the grave of St George, the porter who assisted St Paul in eluding the Damascene Jews. There are also the houses of Judas, St Paul's host, *Acts*, IX, 11; of Ananias, who restored his sight and baptised him, *Acts*, IX, 10/18; of Naaman, the Syrian, II *Kings*, V,—not to mention the numerous shrines commemorative of men famous in Muhammadan lore.

²⁰⁸ This "desert plain," on the western border of the great Syrian desert, studded with villages and hamlets in their orchards and well-cultivated fields, with many public gardens for the recreation of the townspeople in the immediate neighborhood of the city, is the famous Ager Damascenus, watered by the Nahr Baradī, the Chrysorrhoeas, golden stream, of the Greeks, and its confluent, extremely fertile and yielding rich harvests since the oldest historic times.

requested him [his host] to find out for him the condition of the people of his house [his family] who were in the citadel. (P. 191) And he [his host] said: For the love and regard [due to you]! [Most willingly!] And he mounted his steed and travelled [townward] with all possible despatch. And when he arrived there he sought them out, finding them safe. And he relieved their anxiety concerning him [the fugitive Christian] [telling them] that he was under his roof, a respected and honored guest. And he went back, returning [to his house], and relieved his [guest's] anxiety concerning them [his guest's family], after which he rode out with him and restored him to them. And the man kissed his [host's] head and his hands, and commended him and gave him praise and said to him: O my lord, thou has overwhelmed me with thy favors for the duration [unforgettable to the end] of time, and it is not in my power to requite these benefits, but the Puissant Benefactor will requite them for me. And he answered: What I did for you was not for the sake of reward, because my recompence is not lost with [will be attended to by] God. And [there were] many such incidents which happened on the part [thanks to the disposition] of the Moslemin. And but for them no one (P. 192) of the Damascene Christians would have saved his life.

We have mentioned the approximate number of those who were killed of the citizens and foreigners. And as regards those who professed Islām in order to escape the clutches of death, there were about four hundred of them, but most of them returned to their original creeds. And the number of captured women was as large, but most of them returned [to their former Christian surroundings] and the rest did not cease to be concealed [remained secluded in accordance with their new Muhammadan surroundings]. And in truth the actions of the Moslim rebels in the city of Damascus were [of a character] that nature revolted at them and the report of them evoked disgust, to the point that many of the Damascene Moslemin [of the better classes] showed their abhorrence of those deeds contrary to the law of humanity and religion, and manifested their repugnance to those that committed them, in secret and in public, and vigorously censured them, (P. 193) restoring order and dispersing [the mob]. And in the same spirit they [that mob] were taken to task by his Excellency the accomplished and distinguished, who combines [in his person] the scientific acquirements of the cultured mind and the religious graces, the companion of high

deeds and dignity, Muḥammad Nasīb Effendy, the high-born muftī—may [God] shower [blessings upon him]!—in a poem eulogising his Excellency Fu'ād Pasha, Wazīr of Foreign Affairs, at the time he honored [visited] the land of Syria. And in its beginning [opening lines] it says:

The [several] regions of Syria have entered upon the sunshine of justice • since Fu'ād of royal authority bestowed order upon them.

They entered upon sunshine after they had been in darkness • [and] for a long time darkness had not cleared away from them.

And of it [the poem said also]:

O people of Syria, what is it that has deceived you, • since you have proved false to a religion that has been possessed of honor?

O wild beasts of prey whom she [Islām] found in her jungle • in security, meeting them with arrows!

And he will give judgment in what you fear from your Sultān.
• Verily he is your mighty lord, the dispenser of revenge.

You have disgraced the word of the chosen messenger • in the truthful [authentic] tradition of most pleasing tenor,

(P. 194) That whoever makes their blood to flow, shall not smell • the wind of the blessed and Oh, what a nice odor is that!

Which [the word of the chosen messenger] declares their possessions inviolable • and makes [their] blood [sacred by a solemn] covenant [extending] to the day of resurrection.

To them is due whatever may be due to us • and upon them is incumbent whatever be incumbent upon those who profess Islām.

Bad it is that in this matter you have betrayed [deviated from the precepts of] your Qurān, • bad [indeed] is the way in which you have treated them, O vile ones!

What learning adorns you among mankind? • What excellence distinguishes you?

What bravery is [will be] yours on the day of clamor [of stress and war]? • What bravery is [will be] yours in the clash of battle?

What [Whose] opinion of you [will consider yours] a praiseworthy action? • You have lost your heads more completely than ostrich chickens [lose theirs].

Your murderous attack on [those] people will be remembered against you • and it will be transmitted to us [its story will pass from mouth to mouth] for a thousand years.

Here end the words of this excellent man of culture in regard to the rights of those poor victims. And with respect to this he knew [well enough] that the affair [so strongly disapproved in his poem], taken all together, would not please the nation of Islām [the Muhammadan community] [that is] the possessors of a responsible character, but only the part emanating from [belonging to] the scum of the turbulent who in their crimes had exceeded the bounds (P. 195) of the divine law and religion. And God, whose decree lies between the Kāf and the Nūn, will repay every one according to his deeds.

NINTH CHAPTER.

Concerning the advent of the companion of Empire and high consideration and dignity, Fu'ād Pasha, and his honoring [visit to] Bayrūt on the part of his Majesty our Lord, the Sultān, for the purpose of restoring order in the affairs of Mount Lebanon.

And when the news of the massacres in the Lebanon reached the ears of [his] Majesty the Sultān 'Abd'al-Majīd Khān, it gave great pain to his Majesty and compassion for (P. 196) his subjects took hold of him. So, after ripe consideration of the matter, he commanded his Excellency the aforesaid wazīr to depart [in commission], investing him with authority over the affairs of the whole administration [of Syria], superior to all the governors and [other] officials. And he entrusted to him the wielding of a power beyond the ordinary, breaking with custom. And he sent him at that time to allay strife and punish the guilty. And he wrote to Napoleon, Emperor of the French, saying:

I am convinced that your Majesty understands the extent of [sympathises with] my sorrow for that [the news] which has come to me [concerning] the mischief and calamities that have happened in Syria. And thou art of course convinced that I will devote [all] my energy to the severe punishment of the people of iniquity and crime. And in order that there will be no further doubt about my being determined in my purpose to [observe strict] impartiality (P. 197) between all my subjects [without distinction], I have entrusted this important business to [my] Wazīr of Foreign Affairs, the discretion of whose methods of action is well known to your royal [imperial] Majesty. Finis.

Now the news of [the happenings in] Syria had already reached the ears of the aforementioned Emperor and of the rest of the [inhabitants of the] French Empire, and the result had been consternation at these events, in consequence of which the information circulated [freely] among them. And some of their ships had [already] arrived at Bayrūt for the purpose of inspiring respect [showing the flag] and investigation.²⁰⁹

And as regards Fu'ād Pasha, he had begun making preparations for his voyage. And he took with him an army of daring men, all brave stallions and rugged lions,²¹⁰ whom he sent down with fire-ships [steamboats], which travelled by the strength of vapor [steam], faster than birds. And his Excellency travelled (P. 198) with [in the flagship of] Muṣṭafa Pasha, Admiral of the Turkish fleet, and the troops, who were like lions of Kaffān,²¹¹ the ships flying with them over the surface of the sea stronger [more easily] than birds. And while he [Fu'ād Pasha] was advancing, pondering on his action with regard to what [the state of affairs] he expected in Mount Lebanon, ploughing the waves of the sea, while above them were seas of thought, agitated by this momentous affair, lo! when he arrived at Cyprus, [information] reached him of the trespasses and transgressions, and disturbances and excesses which had taken place in Damascus. And it made him fume with rage and the sweet stream of his forbearance changed into a burning flame [of anger], and he accelerated his voyage to Bayrūt

²⁰⁹ According to a letter, dated May 30, 1860, from the British consul-general at Bayrūt to Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, the French sloop-of-war *La Sentinel*, stationed on the coast of Syria, had already gone at that early date "to bring up a French naval force in view of the state of the Lebanon." The commander of the French squadron in the Levant, Laroncière Le Noury, responded immediately on board his flagship, the frigate *Zénobie*, and was soon followed by the Rear-Admiral Jehenne on board the *Donauwerth*, accompanied by the *Redoutable* and the *Moselle*. The British navy was numerously represented by a squadron, first under command of the Rear-Admiral Codrington on board the *Hibernia*, later of the Rear-Admiral Mundy on board the *Hannibal*, in constant communication with the Vice-Admiral Martin, who commanded the British Mediterranean fleet on board his flagship, the *Marlborough*. In August the Dutch Government had in the Syrian waters the *Admiraal van Wassenaer*; the Austrian Government the *Radetsky* and a steam-sloop; the Sardinian Government the *Eurydice* and a steam-sloop; the Russian Government a frigate whose name is not mentioned in the official correspondence; the Greek Government the *Ariadne*, the *Athena* and a gunboat; the Turkish Government the *Fathée*, flagship of Muṣṭafa Pasha, the *Geatiere* and a screw corvette besides some troopships.

²¹⁰ These troops, under command of Halim Pasha, were to bring the Turkish force in Syria to its full strength of 16,000 men. Cf the London *Times* of July 13, 1860.

²¹¹ "Khaffan, nom d'une localité, près de Coufa, abondante en lions," KAZIMIRSKI.

that he might punish the guilty Muhammadans and Druzes. And the day of his arrival [at Bayrūt] was the third, falling on the seventeenth of the month of July.

Now the aforesaid wazīr was one of those peerless wazīrs, (P. 199) eminent in adversity [trying circumstances] and of clever counsel, renowned for his perspicacity and sagacity and knowledge of political conditions. And on his arrival at Bayrūt the male citizens hastened to welcome him, going out to meet him on the sea-shore with ceremonious homage. And the Christians throughout the country rejoiced at his advent and that day was with them as one of their greatest feast-days. And when he made public the character of his all-important mission by reading the decree which emanated from our lord, the Sultān, the men of note and the vulgar crowd obeyed him alike. And the Christian and Jewish and Muhammadan nations [communities] were [equally] glad with it [the Sultān's decree]. And because it was the preface [a pledge] of tranquility and security to all, nothing seems more appropriate to us than that we should give a translation of it in the most elegant style, namely in rimed prose. And this is a copy in extenso (P. 200) upon which the reader can fully rely:

Honorable Minister of State! Esteemed Counselor! Director of the world! Administrator of the public business with penetrating care! Accomplisher of the important duties of [due to] mankind by straight, unfailing advice! Arranger of the structure [edifice] of the Empire and its weal! Builder of the pillars of its prosperity and nobility, surrounded by [recipient of] various favors from [thy] august Sovereign, who art one of those held in highest regard among the ministers of our illustrious empire; to whom is suspended [who art invested with] the dignity of the ministry of foreign affairs [and whom we have] chosen [and preferred as] an independent [envoy] for a mission beyond the customary [an extraordinary mission] on the part of our glorious, royal [imperial] government to restore order in Syria! Bearer [Possessor] of the insignia of our order of Majīdyah²¹² and obtainer of the signal honor of [being decorated with] the badge of our royal [imperial] distinction²¹³ of the first class in the military service!

²¹² The imperial order of Majīdyah (Méjidié) was founded by Sultan 'Abd'al-Majīd in August, 1851.

²¹³ *Nishān Imtyāz*, not to be confounded with the *Nishān-y-Imtiāz*, Order of Merit, founded by the Sultan 'Abd'al-Hamīd II, September 21, 1879. Besides the decorations enumerated in the text, Fu'ad Pasha possessed also that of the *Nishān-y-Iftikhar*, Order of Glory, founded by the Sultan Mahmūd II, August 19, 1831, and numerous foreign ones.

Clear-sighted Wazir Muhammad Fu'ad Pasha, (P. 201) whom God may gladden with the blessings that shall please Him! On the arrival of this decree to thee, the eminent of elevated station, verily thou wilt apply [thy] knowledge and sharpness of intellect. Verily thou, O high-minded Wazir to whom all fingers point, verily thou knowest with certainty the truth of the discord whose fire now has flamed up between the Maronites and the Druzes inhabiting Mount Lebanon. And when [the information] of the quarrels and strife among them and their hasty recourse to the fields of battle came to us, it was distressing to our merciful solicitude, and our conquering might sought only to look upon [our] subjects with compassion, since equal [in our eyes] are all the subjects of our grand empire to whatever race they may belong, without [our] distinguishing between sects and religions, in order that they may live at ease and in abundance under the shelter of our protection (P. 202) without the people transgressing the bounds of [their] relationship, encroaching upon others [upon one another's rights]. This is our main purpose and intentioned [chief] aim. And as regards the treacherous commotion and vicious violence which has disturbed Mount Lebanon, they clash in every respect with our good pleasure and wishes, and thwart our equity [equitable rule]. And for this reason we have commanded the matter to thy judgment, which is sufficient for looking into this business. And we have entrusted to thy personal sagacity, which is thy distinguishing ornament among creatures, the [this] business [to be] independently [settled by thee], in order that thou mayest soon allay that tumultuous excitement in an expeditious fashion, and exterminate the swarm of those who incite [the people] to [create] disturbances and raise mischief. So do not spare them and do not desist from [the punishment of] those who have committed crimes, evil-doers [prone to] oppression and shedders of human blood. Therefore, O (P. 203) excellent Wazir, essence of the combined perfections of the period, possessor of dignity and might among the men [high officials] of our victorious realm, thou, thou art the one upon whom our majesty relies, the support in which it puts its trust. To thee is given the execution of its purpose, that thou mayest be its representative in this business, completely independent, absolutely free to dispose efficaciously of the affair by thy [sole] authority. And we have despatched [ordered the despatch] towards that region [Syria] of a large force and numerous troops of [our] well-equipped

army. As thou shalt advise they will be guided and according to thy directions they will conduct themselves. And all possible means [must be employed] to restore security and tranquility, and quiet and calm. And those who dare [to commit] wrongful acts, shedding blood, pay it back to them by passing an appropriate sentence from which our justice is to appear clearly in an adequate punishment. And above all be zealous in effacing the traces of this abominable, (P. 204) distressing mischief, using in this [to this purpose] what [such means as] thou mayest decide upon with judgment and strenuous exertion. And thou canst count on our care and our support in the matter. And we have entrusted and assigned to thee the disposal [command] of the army and the direction of political affairs, observing the claims of prudential wisdom and firmness in the [exercise of the] duties of office and authority. And in this manner falls to thee the business [task] of our royal [imperial] council with respect to the government of that province. And we permit thee to depart in order that we may behold of thee what passes [our] expectation. So be a follower of [follow this] decree, confiding in its contents, relying upon our august indications [instructions] and our sublime, high commands. Written on the last of the month Du'l-Hijjah²¹⁴ of the year twelve hundred and seventy-six.²¹⁵

Thereupon he [Fu'ad Pasha] wrote a letter [issued a proclamation] to all the [Sultān's] subjects, tranquilising them (P. 205) and promising them peace and urging them to come forward with their requests and complaints. And this is [here follows] a copy of it:

[Be it known] that the conflict which now exists between the Maronites and the Druzes in Mount Lebanon and that which has resulted from it in the form of [much] shedding of blood and ugly encounters, has come to the ears of his Imperial Majesty and he is angered by reason of its occurrence. So, pained by what [the events which] took place among his subjects, because of his solicitude and his [sense of] justice which embraces all his subjects [alike] without making any distinction as to equality in respect to home rights and human transactions, it is displeasing to the fountainhead of imperial power that one person should overmaster another in enmity or that one people should encroach upon [the rights] of others on any pretense whatever the cause may be. (P. 206) And whoever shall dare to tres-

²¹⁴ Month of Pilgrimage.

²¹⁵ Which date corresponds with the 19th of July of the year 1860 of the Christian Era.

pass against one equal to himself [his fellow-subject], no doubt but [without fail] he will be considered a rebel against the government and meet his due. Hence it is fitting, after an inquiry into what has occurred of riotous proceedings on the part of the inhabitants of the Mount and [their] rebellious intentions, to prevent [any further] signs [outbreaks] of contention and dissension, and to stop the continuous increase of violence and suffering. And in order to overthrow those who have committed offenses and those who have not ceased to countenance these crimes, I have come in obedience to the royal [imperial] command on a special mission, vested with extraordinary, independent authority and accompanied by imperial troops surrounded [girded] with strength. And all of you will understand the document of [which sets forth my] mission of high, gracious authority, openly proclaimed in the sublime decree (P. 207) for the purpose of making evident to all creation the lofty, exalted royal [imperial] justice, which brings the oppressed succour and punishes the arbitrary evil-doer. And the confidential task of [imposed upon me by] this mission, I will perform by carrying it out with perfect faithfulness. And verily all here will be protected, enjoying a life of plenty under the shelter of [highest] mercy. And the families that had to leave their dwellings on account of the iniquitous happenings in Mount Lebanon, them I shall take under my personal care [providing them] with the necessities for their comfort, giving attention to their means of subsistence, showing them the fruit [results] of imperial justice and mercy in every respect. And first of all let the causes of disputes disappear! And from this day and henceforward whatever nation [community] starts a movement of transgression against any other, will be made responsible for its offence and requited with a punishment [proportionate] to the utmost limit of its harm [the harm it has done]. (P. 208) And in the same manner whoever [whatever single individual] trespasses against any one else, will meet his punishment and will be sent into penal servitude for life. And this will be the task of an extraordinary [special] tribunal, instituted for the benefit of plaintiffs [to receive and pass judgment on complaints presented to it], which will be impartial to the strong and powerful, and invalid and destitute [alike]. And let every one come to it with his tale, be he old or young [mighty or mean], one who receives or one who gives orders [a commoner or a prince]. And no screen will hinder him from approaching us [every

one will have free access]. And let all apply themselves to the [right] understanding of this letter [proclamation].

And after this he took his place in his council, which was called the extraordinary [special] council, that is the council in which were not considered the regulations of [connected with] the accustomed [previous] reforms.²¹⁶ And it came to pass that the complaints of the inhabitants of the Mount and Wādy at-Taym were presented to him and he received them and put the minds of their companions [the complainants] at rest and promised them cessation of trouble and relief from [the burden of] oppression. And he assigned (P. 209) to the people of Dayr al-Qamar and the rest of the population of the several districts [which had suffered] [money for] their expenses, which he doled out to them, a piastre and eight paras per head and per day. And calls upon his generosity came to him from all who were stricken and needy and destitute, for his many and plentiful gifts, and his frequent acts of kindness because he was compassionate and gracious to them; and looked upon them with the eye of favor and mercy; and appointed unto them physicians for the treatment of their diseases, and the care of their health, bestowing on them [as an earnest] of the royal [imperial] solicitude [for their welfare] whatever they stood in need of with respect to the things necessary to sustain life.

But some of the Druzes did not cease to spread false reports throughout the country and to kill whomever of the Christians they met when [they found them] alone. And for this reason the complaints about his [Fu'ād Pasha's] administration multiplied from all (P. 210) sides. So he sent immediately a battalion²¹⁷ of the army to the Mount together with a notice in which he threatened the Druzes, ordering them to abstain from these doings. Thereupon he resolved, when this was done, upon a journey to Damascus, wishing to appoint Khürshīd Pasha his representative in Bayrūt to conduct the administrative business of the government. But the Admiral of the English ships²¹⁸ opposed him [in that wish] because this [personage] deserved

²¹⁶ More in particular the reforms begun by Sultan Mahmūd II and continued by his son 'Abd'al-Majid in always wider range, the *tanzīmat* par excellence, whose adjustment to local needs was looked after by an already existing special council.

²¹⁷ *Tabur*, a Turkish military term, adopted from the Polish language; see DOZY and of ZENKER.

²¹⁸ Vice-Admiral W. F. Martin protested in the following terms against Khürshīd Pasha remaining in office, in a memorandum, written July 25, 1860, on board his flagship, the

punishment, wherefore it was not proper that he should be in such a position [of trust]. So he [Fu'ād Pasha] renounced that idea and appointed [instead of him] Muṣṭafa Pasha,²¹⁰ Admiral of the 'Uthmānī ships, and placed Khūrshīd Pasha under arrest and took his sword and the insignia [of his rank and dignity] away from him. And he [Fu'ād Pasha] wrote about his [Khūrshīd Pasha's] case to Constantinople and postponed action while awaiting the orders of the Sultān.

And on the twenty-seventh day of the month of July (P. 211), which fell on a Thursday, he [Fu'ād Pasha] directed himself toward Damascus in order to set right its deplorable state of affairs.

And when the news of [the things that had happened in] Dāmascus reached the Emperor Napoleon, he became more and more deeply concerned and conferred with the other European governments regarding the despatch of a French army to the land of Syria. And this army was [to be sent] on the part of all [governments] by the French for the reason of its guardianship of [protectorate over] the Christian nations [communities]. And since the 'Uthmānī government had guaranteed to restore order in the space of half a year, the governments agreed upon the duration of the stay of the [French] army in Syria for a determined period [only]. And when the troops were mustered, ready to embark, the Emperor addressed them [delivering] this short harangue which excited courage in the hearts of the going [expeditionary force], (P. 212) and he said: O soldiers, you are leaving for the land of Syria and the whole of France rejoices in your going there, which is for no other purpose than the triumph of the

Marlborough, off Bayrūt: "I have been told that his Excellency Khoorshid Pasha is to continue in authority in this Pashalick [Saydā]. I must express a hope that there is no intention of allowing him to hold the power he has so abused. But looking to the horrible cruelties to which, it is believed, he has been a willing party, and to the responsibility in which I share with regard to the safety of the Christian population here, I must protest against his being allowed to retain a command, upon which the safety of multitudes depends, for whom he has manifested such indifference and contempt." Forwarding a copy of this document to London on the following day, Consul-General Moore informs Lord Russell: "Khoorshid Pasha returned this morning from Latakia, but he has not been permitted to land; he is to proceed to Constantinople. Fuad Pasha to-day arrested Khoorshid Pasha's Kahia, Wasfi Effendi, and the Mutsellim of Deir-el-Kamar."

²¹⁰ Who, meanwhile, on board his flagship, had paid a visit to all the towns on the coast, commanding the local authorities to have the firmān that contained Fu'ād Pasha's instructions publicly read, and also an order signed by the latter, "directing the immediate bombardment of any town in which the slightest disturbance should occur." Cf a correspondence from Constantinople, dated August 1, in the London *Times* of August 14, 1860.

rights of justice and humanity. You do not go to wage war with any one, neither to conquer the country but to assist the Sultān against unjust and wicked people. And upon you [rests the duty] in that distant country, rich in sacred reminiscences, to do what is needful to be done; and to show yourselves the proper men [for that task] because you are the sons of the heroes who displayed the banner of the Savior on those shores. It is true, you do not go in a numerous host and a large multitude, but your daring and gallantry (P. 213) in battle make up for abundance of men because everybody knows that in whatever part of the world the French flag is seen to pass, important business lies before it and behind it [stands] a nation of indomitable prowess. Finis.²²⁰

And when [the soldiers] heard this speech from him [his lips], the courage of heroes was stirred in their heads and they rose with hearts [elated] as if they were mountains. And at their appointed time they were transported, following their destination to Syrian climes. And they were in the highest state of self-exaltation and enthusiasm. And on the sixteenth day of the month of August, the French ships arrived at Bayrūt with the troops and munitions of war. And their commander was the General Büfür,²²¹ famous for his gallantry. (P. 214) And most of the men [of the town] went out to meet them with a ceremonious welcome. And many of them [the townspeople] carried for them [the soldiers] their stores and luggage. And their officers alighted [were lodged] around [in different parts of] the city, and the soldiers camped in its neighborhood, in the Pine Grove,²²² where they pitched their tents like the stars of heaven and dug pits from which

²²⁰ The Emperor's address to the 5th regiment of the Line, Colonel Canbert, the 13th regiment of the Line, Colonel Darricau, and the first squadron of the 1st regiment of Hussars, Captain Stockley, when reviewing them before their departure for Syria, is given as follows in the *Moniteur* of August 8, 1860: "Soldats! Vous partez pour la Syrie et la France salut avec bonheur une expédition qui n'a qu'un but, celui de faire triompher les droits de la justice et de l'humanité. Vous n'allez pas en effet, faire la guerre à une Puissance quelconque, mais vous allez aider le Sultan à faire rentrer dans l'obéissance des sujets aveuglés par un fanatisme d'un autre siècle. Sur cette terre lointaine, riche en grands souvenirs, vous ferez votre devoir et vous vous montrerez les dignes enfants de ces héros qui ont porté glorieusement dans ce pays la bannière du Christ. Vous ne partez pas en grand nombre mais votre courage et votre prestige y suppléeront, car partout aujourd'hui où l'on voit passer le drapeau de la France les nations savent qu'il y a une grande cause qui le précède, un grand peuple qui le suit."

²²¹ Beaufort d'Hautpoul; see Note 79 to the Introduction.

²²² See Note 81.

they obtained their water. And they turned [their attention] to the improvement of the roads in every locality, and constructed six ovens for the [baking of] bread for the army. And there were about eight thousand privates of the troops [of the line] and zouaves, and about two thousand [attendants] belonging to the commissariat and the administration and other branches of the service, and servants specially employed for the carrying of burdens and the lifting of heavy loads.²²³

And as regards Fu'ād Pasha, on his arrival in Damascus he lost no time (P. 215) in putting the affairs [of the town] in a better condition. So he seized its governor, Aḥmad Pasha, and took from him his sword and the badges of his official dignity, and sent him to Bayrūt and thence with Khürshīd Pasha to Constantinople in order that they might be tried at the capital of the Illustrious Empire. And when [tidings of] this reached the ambassadors of the [European] governments, that action displeased them. And they said: We do not accept this and do not approve of it. On the contrary, the proper procedure is to try each of the two in the place where he has committed his offence.²²⁴ So they were sent back to Bayrūt where Khürshīd Pasha was kept in custody while Aḥmad Pasha had to proceed on his return voyage to Damascus, being held there until sentence would be pronounced either to absolve or condemn him. And at that juncture Fu'ād Pasha ordered the imprisonment of Khürshīd Pasha's steward²²⁵ and Ahmad Effendi as-Saleh²²⁶ (P. 216) and him who was in command at Bayt ad-Dīn, and the governor of Dayr al-Qamar. And all of

²²³ For the composition of the French expeditionary corps, see Note 80 to the Introduction.

²²⁴ From a Reuter telegram, dated Constantinople, August 8, in the London *Times* of August 14, 1860, it appears that the Marquis de Lavalette, French Ambassador to the Porte, was the leading spirit in the protest followed by this suggestion, immediately acted upon.

²²⁵ Cf Note 218.

²²⁶ Both Aḥmad Effendi and Wasfy Effendi showed in their defence that their mutual accord and understanding was of a private character and that they did not interfere in any affair which was not within their official jurisdiction or meddle in the least in matters properly belonging to the Government, and denied the truth of all that was reported of them. "Yet and although no personal and specific charge was brought forward against them, or personal delinquency was proved," they were condemned to the penalty next to that of death and imprisonment for life in a fortress, namely, the punishment of temporary confinement in a fortress, with perpetual deprivation of their rank and offices, because they had "intermeddled in the action and measures of the administration and occupied themselves reprehensibly in matters which were not within their legitimate cognisance." *Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Syria*, p. 300.

them were put under arrest at Bayrūt and confined in the barracks of the army. And as regards the Moslim mob in Damascus, the arrival of Fu'ād Pasha²²⁷ inspired them with fear and they began to clear out, most of the fugitives reaching Haurān and Jabal 'Ajlūn.²²⁸ But he [Fu'ād Pasha] barred all the gates and roads against them and arrested up to a thousand persons whom he threw into prison to have them cited before the council for an official inquest. And he had also ordered the imprisonment of 'Uthmān Bey, governor²²⁹ of Hāshbayyā; and Muḥammad Agha, governor²³⁰ of Rāshayyā; and Colonel 'Aly Bey,²³¹ whom Ahmād Pasha had appointed guardian of the Christian quarter in the town [Damascus]; and the joint officers and men [soldiers] who had associated with him in this manifest perfidy. (P. 217) And he commanded the execution of Ahmād Pasha and the execution of them [the other officers found guilty] with bullets in the

²²⁷ The special correspondent of the London *Times* at Bayrūt wrote under the date of August 8, issue of August 23, 1860, that Fu'ād Pasha awaited at Damascus "the arrival of two battalions which he had asked from the military commander at Beyrouth, Ismail Pasha, better known in England as General Kmety....." Having received these re-enforcements, he commenced acting with extraordinary vigor: "In his first interview with the Great Medjlis, Fuad made a hasty salute in return for salam, etc., and did not invite any one to sit down. He then addressed them to the following effect: By this affair you have done three things—you have violated the religious law; you have trampled under foot the civil law of the Empire; you have placed the Sultan and his ministers in a position from which they do not see how to extricate themselves. Now, let each of you bring me a list of the guilty parties—authors, leaders and actors in the affair; and any one who does not bring such a list I shall count one of the authors of the massacre. You may go." The *Levant Herald* of August 4, 1860, says, regarding the arrival of Fu'ād Pasha at Damascus, that "in anticipation of it, some tents had been pitched on the plain near Nicea, where the governor of the town and the principal citizens were to receive the imperial deputy. But Fuad, having pushed on before the column of troops, arrived before he was expected. He found however the civil and military pashas, and all leading men of the place, together with Abd-el-Kader, in attendance. He brusquely dismissed the civilians and said he wished only to speak with the military men and the Emir ['Abd'al-Qādir]."

²²⁸ The Jabal 'Ajlūn corresponds with the biblical Gilead and is now a caza of the sanjaq of Haurān.

²²⁹ These are slips of the pen: 'Uthmān Bey and Muḥammad 'Aly were not the mutasallims respectively of Hāshbayyā and Rāshayyā but the commanders of the Turkish troops detached for the protection of those cities. They were condemned to death and executed in Damascus, as already stated.

²³⁰ Colonel 'Aly Bey was also condemned to death and shot together with Ahmād Pasha, who had put him in charge of the police in the Christian quarter of Damascus, with 'Uthmān Bey and Muḥammad 'Aly Agha, on the same day and in the same place.

citadel of Damascus.²²¹ And he [ordered to be] executed by hanging those of the inhabitants of whom it was proved that they were guilty. And the number of the soldiers [who met that fate] was one hundred and twelve, and of the civilians one hundred and fifty-seven; and some say more than that.²²² And as regards the Christians, since no houses were left to them [they were homeless], they asked Fu'ād Pasha's permission to move to Bayrūt. And he granted them [that permission] and many families of them went at the expense of the

²²¹ Though Ahmād Pasha, like Khūrshīd Pasha, belonged to the party of the Old Turks, he was a personal friend of Fu'ād Pasha, for whom it was a hard duty publicly to degrade him before the execution. But, says the special correspondent of the London *Times*, issue of October 3, 1860, he [Fu'ād Pasha] "told me the day sentence of death had been pronounced that, had the ex-governor of Damascus been his own brother, he would inflict upon him the extreme punishment pronounced. And I never witnessed so much mental suffering in any one as Fuad Pasha exhibited while his former friend was shot to death Many go so far as to assert that some unfortunate wretch was shot in the place of Ahmed Agha, who had offered, it is said, Fuad Pasha 40.000 £ for the preservation of his life. A greater calumny, I believe, was never invented [Ahmād Agha] was tried by a military tribunal and when the evidence was collected, Fuad Pasha summoned, including General Gescer [Gessler], a Prussian, 40 officers, selected from the different corps and of various ranks, to whom he confided the duty of pronouncing sentence. His Excellency first compelled them to swear the usual Moslem oath to give a just and true verdict. He next explained the nature of the case and of their duties before giving them the minutes of evidence. The result of the deliberation was a verdict of death. One member of the Court voted for hard labour for life as being a more severe and degrading punishment than death for a person in the position of the ex-Muchtir. . . . [When the sentence had been read] Ahmed Agha [who said, during the trial, that he had feared to provoke the populace, remembering how they had torn Salim Pasha to pieces about twenty years earlier] spoke a few words to the effect that he was condemned for a crime of which his own conscience acquitted him; that if there were any among the soldiers to whom he had done wrong, he prayed them to forgive him; and that he trusted that the Sultan would not forget his four children. . . . " Returning to the story that some one else was executed for Ahmād Agha, once Ahmād Pasha, the correspondent adds, referring to other fantastic tales of the kind: "What possible good can result from circulating such untruths as an officer of the French army did [not to speak of some consular officials], that in the first execution the men shot were Christians disguised as Bashi Bazouks and that those who were hanged, were previously dead, when their widows and relatives were seen in the streets wailing their fate?"

²²² The special correspondent of the London *Times* at Bayrūt wrote under the date of September 24, issue of October 6, 1860: "The number of persons who have suffered punishment in Damascus up to the present date is 70 hanged, 115 shot, 147 sentenced to hard labour for life, 248 banished, 186 sentenced to hard labour for a term, making a total of 766, besides 83 condemned to death by default, liable to be killed without further trial, and those who are in prison." An official telegram, dated Damascus, August 20, published in the London *Times* of September 3, says that those condemned to the rope were hanged in the most popular parts of the city and that among them "were brothers, sons and parents of the first men in the country. No attention was paid to their rank or dignity."

Illustrious Empire. And after their arrival [at Bayrüt] some of them were lodged in barracks and caravansaries, and to some lodgings were let in the houses of the non-Moslim townspeople. And to every one on every third day five piastres were allotted and moreover some meat, necessary [for their subsistence], was distributed among them. And a superintendent was appointed over them of the possessors of human instincts, named (P. 218) 'Abd'al-Qādir Effendy al-Injā²³³ of Tripoli, a man of gentle character, distinguished by reason of his culture and pleasant disposition. And he was kind and gracious to them, looking after their wants and watching over the satisfaction of their needs with the most complete solicitude. And all these expenses [connected with the providing for the destitute Christians] were charged in full upon [as an item of] the expenditure of the imperial treasury. [Besides that] much money and clothes had come in from England and France and America and Russia and Austria and the Greek countries, and were distributed among them and the other victims of pillage without distinction being made between Christian nations [sects]. And as regards the rest of the prisoners at Damascus, whose guilt was not proved with evident clearness, Fu'ād Pasha sent them in numerous batches to Constantinople and they arrived (P. 219) in Bayrüt [on their way thither] loaded with chains in the stocks.²³⁴ And most of them were of the refuse of men [the scum of the people], not of the possessors of rank [better classes]. And many of the Christians of Damascus recognised many of those who had killed their relatives and friends, and who had abused their women and carried off their possessions and burnt down their houses. And lifting up [their voices], they denounced them to Ahmād Pasha al-Qaysarly, who at that time had arrived from Constantinople as governor of Bayrüt.²³⁵ And acceding to their demand [that the guilty should be punished], he ordered the immediate imprisonment of the defendants [those denounced]. And then he sent all of them, batch after batch, to

²³³ The smitten with the evil eye.

²³⁴ That is, to prevent their escape they had been put into the portable stocks which the Turkish and Syrian police use in some localities when conveying prisoners. By this method the hands, one palm turned up and the other turned down, are firmly clamped between two pieces of wood, hollowed out to fit the wrists. The more or less tight tying, or sometimes nailing together of the clamps, provides a means for punishing the recalcitrant and extorting money from those provided with that commodity.

²³⁵ Ahmād Pasha al-Qaysarly had, namely, been appointed to succeed Khūrshid Pasha as Governor-General of Saydā, including Phoenicia and Palestine, of which pashalic Bayrüt was the capital.

the Sublime Porte and they were made to enter the soldier-family²²⁶ [army]. And Fu'ād Pasha had issued in Damascus a notice concerning the restitution of the plunder [carried away] from (P. 220) the houses of the Christians. And some did make restitution of their own accord and he had their names written down for a time. So when they [the others] became aware of this, they threw the plunder they wanted to get rid of, into the streets of the town. And Fu'ād Pasha had it collected but it was for the most part rubbish and he found scarcely anything among it in the shape of valuable household effects. And to the Christians that remained in Damascus he had assigned fifty paras per head and per day, and this was supplemented with some personal effects [especially] bedding and clothing. And he allowed them also to take what they needed of the restored plunder. And everything any one took, was charged against him at a fixed price in the end to be deducted from what was due to him of the indemnity (P. 221). And most of those who had gone to Bayrūt were able to subsist on this [their rations, etc., as described] comfortably enough, but those who inhabited [had obtained shelter in] the citadel [of Damascus] did not cease to complain of their being terribly crowded and the lack of dwelling room. So dwellings of Moslemin in the quarter al-Qanawāt²²⁷ and its neighborhood were cleared for them and he [Fu'ād Pasha] transferred them thither and there they stayed. Yet, the evil suggestions of Satan did not cease their play with them. So they asked [that they should be allowed] to move to Bayrūt without receiving an answer to their request. And some miscreants, when they could not manage to kill them with the sword as they had done at the time of the massacre, stealthily began to put poison in the food they [the Christians] bought of them. And several persons among them [the Christians] died [in that way], which gave a new impulse to their wish to seek safety. (P. 222) So they insisted [on their demand] with Fu'ād Pasha adducing many excuses [reasons for its being granted]. And at last he assented, ordering the travelling expenses [to be paid out]. And they began to migrate, one party of them after the other. And as regards Fu'ād Pasha, he condemned those who had plotted to poison them, to be hanged. Then he returned to Bayrūt, leaving his army behind in Damascus. And after his arrival he sent a message request-

²²⁶ *Ujaz*, another word borrowed from Turkish military parlance; cf BARBIER DE MEYNARD.

²²⁷ With the Jamayly quarter nearest to al-Maydān.

ing the 'Amīrs of the Druzes and the chiefs of the Mount [to report]. And the 'Amīr Muḥammad Raslān, their governor [i. e. governor of the Druzes] presented himself without delay, but the others excused themselves from attending for fear of the consequences of the business [they had engaged in] and they proposed to him that they should send agents to represent them. Nothing however would satisfy him but their presence in person and he appointed to them a definite time and if they let it pass, he would punish them. So the 'Amīr (P. 223) Muḥammad son of the 'Amīr Qāsim Raslān attended; and his kinsman, the 'Amīr Malḥam; and the Sheikh Sa'yd Janblāṭ; and his kinsman, the Sheikh Salīm; and the Sheikh 'Uthmān Abū 'Alwān; and the Sheikh Asa'ad al-'Amād; and the Sheikh Yūsuf 'Abd'al-Malik; and his kinsman, the Sheikh Fa'ūr; and the Sheikh Qāsim Nakād; and the Sheikh Qāsim Ḥaṣan ad-Dīn; and the Sheikh Ḥusayn Talḥūq; and his kinsman, the Sheikh Asa'ad.²²⁸ And they foregathered with the 'Amīr Muḥammad Raslān in Burj Aby Ḥaydar. And all together went to meet him [Fu'ād Pasha] at the barracks of the army where he ordered their arrest, no one being allowed to communicate with them. So their minds were troubled and their souls confused, and fear and terror entered them [their hearts], and they gave up [all] hope of being saved [from impending doom]. And some of them began to blame (P. 224) for their having come those who had persuaded them with delusive representations [to go] where they had no means at their disposal to escape from participation in the trapping [to avoid being trapped] since they had become like birds in a cage. And they relied for their own disputation upon their laying the [whole] guilt at the door of Khūrshīd Pasha²²⁹ because they had [simply] done as they had been commanded and they thought that, because they had acted according to his will, they could not be held responsible for their

²²⁸ According to a letter from Lord Dufferin to Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, dated September 23, 1860, Sheikh Sa'yd Janblāṭ arrived a day later than the other chiefs, while instead of the Sheikh Asa'ad Talḥūq, he mentions the Sheikh Tamāl [Jamāl] ad-Dīn Ḥamdān.

²²⁹ The commission appointed to try Khūrshīd Pasha and the other officials implicated in the disturbances throughout Syria, consisted of his successor, Ahmad Pasha al-Qaysarī, as president; Admiral Muṣṭafa Pasha; Fu'ād Pasha's secretary, Abro Effendi; the mufti of Bayrūt; a general receiver of finance and several officers of the army. Cf the London *Times* of October 5, 1860. "In his defence, Khoorshid Pasha [pleaded] that he had sent an agent to disperse the Christians of the Kesrouan, and despatched troops to the spot, Hazmīeh, which divides the territory of the respective belligerents, by which means he prevented the Christians from outstepping the boundary and protected their

actions.²⁴⁰ And as regards the other persons of rank and dignity who had shown disobedience [with respect to Fu'ād Pasha's summons] and had evinced [a tendency to] opposition and rebellion, and had been present at those affrays, and had engaged in those riots, and had killed and murdered and shed blood and made it flow [in streams], and had not dared to present themselves with that company [of 'amirs and sheikhs mentioned above] because they were commanders of troops [bands] (P. 225) and heads of nations [tribes] and families [sub-divisions of tribes], a number of them fled to Ḥaurān. And some hid themselves in the border-lands of the Lebanon, moving from place to place.²⁴¹ And the imprisonment of the above-mentioned men of mark took place on Friday the twenty-first of the month of September of the year eighteen hundred and sixty-one.²⁴² This is what we have wished to set forth now, in the most trustworthy manner attainable, after examination and minute investigation. And as regards what [the events which] took place after this [afterwards], we have set aside for [decided to devote to] it a second part in which we will continue our narrative in the same fashion. And with God [is] succour [May God help us]!

side against invasion; that owing to the paucity of the troops at his disposal on the one hand, and the large numerical strength of the Druses on the other, he could not, without exposing Beyrouth and all the other places to risings and disorders which might have resulted in a universal catastrophe, both march against the Druses, whose bands were carrying fire and sword to all points of the Mountain, and look to the safety of Beyrouth and the other places at the same time. This justification of Khoorshid Pasha [was] not deemed sufficient to clear him of his shortcomings in not suppressing the disorders, whether at their first appearance or after their outbreak; but it had not appeared that he did anything to cause them and he [was] found to have endeavoured, though imperfectly, to do his duty. Under these circumstances [the commission acting as an extraordinary tribunal, were] of opinion that sentence of death [could not] be legally passed upon Khoorshid Pasha, and that his punishment should be one degree less than capital." *Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Syria, 1860-61*, pp. 300/1. Like Tāhir Pasha, in command of the troops in his pashalic, Khūrshīd Pasha was therefore condemned to imprisonment for life in a fortress. To undergo that punishment he was sent to Rhodes

²⁴⁰ The special tribunal that tried them was of a different opinion: like Sa'yid Bey Janblāt, the 'Amīr Muḥammad Qāsim Rāslān and the Sheikhs Salīm Janblāt, As'a'ad al-'Amād, Qāsim Nakād, Husayn Talhūq, As'a'ad Talhūq and Jamāl ad-Dīn Hamdān were condemned to death; some of the others to temporary confinement in a fortress with permanent forfeiture of their rank and offices.

²⁴¹ A list of the leaders of the bands that played a prominent part in the disturbances of 1860 and escaped to Ḥaurān, in all thirty-three persons, to be punished with death when captured, is given on page 308 of the *Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Syria, 1860-61*

²⁴² From the letter quoted in Note 238, it would appear that the "men of mark" referred to, arrived in Bayrūt on September 22, 1860, and, after reporting, were at first "merely kept under a kind of surveillance."

CONCLUSION

We do not know whether Iskander Ibn Ya'qūb Abkāriūs has redeemed his promise to "continue [his] narrative in the same fashion." However this may be, the second part, which he proposed to devote to the events that took place after the official inquiry into the causes of the disturbances of 1860 in Mount Lebanon and the attitude towards them of the local authorities, has never reached us. So we are obliged to conclude his task ourselves with a short survey of those events, beginning at the point where he, somewhat abruptly, left off.

Fu'ād Pasha's excellent measures remind one of a quotation from Busbeckius, made à *contre-coeur* by the good Father Abraham a Santa Clara: "Die Türcken lassen kein Unrecht ungestraft."¹ As the Sultan's High Commissioner he carried out his instructions with fearless energy although greatly hampered in his work of repression, reparation and reorganisation by both the French army of occupation and his co-delegates to the International Commission, who had begun their labors at Bayrūt in a manner not at all calculated to show that they attached great importance to the observation of one of them² "that it would be unsafe to allow [themselves] to be guided in the adjustment of the degree of chastisement to be exacted, by any political consideration." "Que justice se fasse sans arrière-pensée," that member added but, remarking almost in one breath, what otherwise was true enough, that "the Druzes [had] only carried out to an excessive degree that policy of extermination with which at the commencement of the quarrel they had been threatened by their victims," he pleaded for a lenient treatment of those British protégés as the French delegate did for the Maronites, the Russian delegate for the Orthodox Greeks, and so on. Fu'ād Pasha was expected to punish the guilty without touching the several favorites, who—and this applies especially to the Maronites—heaped accusation on accusation

¹ *Op. cit.*: ". also schreibt Busbeckius ein ansähnlicher Kayserlicher Gesandter nach der Ottomanischen Porten, fol. 440."

² Lord Dufferin, at the eighth meeting of the International Commission, November 2, 1860.

to have their enemies shot, hanged or banished in droves, irrespective of guilt.

The delegates to the International Commission were, besides Fu'ad Pasha for Turkey and Lord Dufferin and Claneboye for Great Britain, Mr P. von Weckbecker, Austrian consul-general at Bayrüt, for Austria; Mr L. Béclard, late French consul-general in Wallachia, for France; Mr von Rehfues, secretary of the Prussian Legation at Constantinople, for Prussia; and Mr E. Novikoff, councilor of the Russian Legation at Constantinople, for Russia. The object of the Commission, as defined by M. E. Thouvenel, French Minister for Foreign Affairs and agreed to by Lord Russell, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the heads of the other governments concerned, "devait consister à rechercher les circonstances qui ont amené les derniers conflits, à déterminer la part de responsabilité des chefs de l'insurrection et des agents de l'administration locale, ainsi que les réparations dues aux victimes, et enfin à étudier, pour les soumettre à l'approbation des Gouvernements et de la Porte, les dispositions qui pourraient être adoptées pour conjurer de nouveaux malheurs."³ Its labors extended in twenty-nine official sittings over seven months.⁴ At the ninth meeting, November 10, 1860, Lord Dufferin drew attention to the fact that so far nothing or next to nothing had been accomplished.⁵ Save one notable exception, the question of indemnity, to be spoken of later on, the following meetings, too, tended more to demonstrate the differences of opinion that divided the Great Powers into hostile camps with respect to the phase of the Eastern Question under discussion, than to reach a permanent agreement for the prevention in the future of horrors like those reported from Hāshbayyā, Rāshayyā, Dayr al-Qamar and Damascus. The Commission's bickerings on the usual base of mutual distrust made it a perfect mirror of the European situation. According to the habit of such diplomatic bodies, the reasonings of its members, though infinitely produced,

³ Letter of August 9, 1860, from Lord Russell to Earl Cowley.

⁴ October 5, 1860, to May 4, 1861, a few days after which date the European delegates repaired to Constantinople for further argument under the auspices of their countries' embassies to the Porte.

⁵ "Il nous est pénible de penser qu'après deux mois de séjour dans ce pays, nous nous trouvons encore occupés de la partie la plus odieuse de notre tâche. Il tarde à la Commission d'entrer en possession d'un devoir plus privilégié, d'inaugurer une époque de conciliation et de paix."

remained always equidistant, never to coincide, as the parallel lines Mr Jolter, Peregrine Pickle's governor, alluded to when expanding on youth and discretion.

Here we return, for its substantiation, to the charge, not primarily ours by the way, preferred against the Christians, especially the Maronites, who seemed to think that with the French occupation their hour for revenge and supremacy, i. e. absolute license, had struck. "The childish insolence of the Christians is becoming every day more rampant and their priesthood openly avow their desire to throw off all allegiance to the Porte," writes Lord Dufferin to Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer,⁶ transmitting a translation of a petition addressed to the European commissioners by the heads of the Christian sects in Damascus, who, "in addition to the demand for vengeance and compensation" [express a vehement desire]....."that the Province should be permanently occupied by an European force." However well taken care of in Damascus after the deposition of Ahmad Pasha, the Christians in that city, wishing to migrate to Bayrūt, created artificial panics in which a prominent place was given to crosses chalked on their doors, by Moslemin they pretended, to mark the houses first to be attacked at the next massacre. The authors of those pictorial forewarnings could not be discovered, though the Christians were generally suspected of tracing the quasi-ominous signs themselves, until one of them was caught in the act.⁷ The story which our author tells of attempts by Moslemin to poison Christians, sounds also very fishy. It was rather from themselves that they needed protection than from Muhammadans, Druzes and Jews, whom they tried to intimidate, overestimating their power since a European army had landed to confound their enemies. The new military commander of Damascus, Khalid Pasha, had the mob well in hand and no officer understood his duty better than he.⁸ The same could not be said of

⁶ From Damascus, December 4, 1860.

⁷ Letter of March 24, 1861, from Lord Dufferin to Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer. Fu'ad Pasha had already written from Damascus, October 10, 1860, to his secretary, Abro Effendy, a Christian: "Un bon nombre de Chrétiens que j'ai questionnés m'ont avoué que les signes de croix que l'on avait fait sur les maisons de Chrétiens, au lieu de provenir des Musulmans, sont plutôt l'oeuvre de quelques uns des leurs qui désirent partir pour Beyrout ou qui voudraient y retenir leurs proches et leurs amis, et qui font des machinations pour répandre la terreur parmi leurs co-religionnaires et les entraîner à l'émigration."

⁸ The opinion of Colonel Gessler, a Prussian instructor in the Turkish army, quoted by Mr J. Brant, British consul at Damascus, in a letter, dated October 8, 1860, to Lord

Ibrāhim Bey Karamy, a Christian official, left at Damascus by the Turkish commissioner "to superintend the affairs of the Christians, but who pretend[ed] to be his Excellency's representative, [was] most infamous and should [have been] immediately removed,"⁹ as he was the moment Fu'ād Pasha heard of his malpractices.

Things like these brought about a reversion of feeling. The massacres, after first shocking the susceptibilities of Europe, began to appear a little more in their proper light, at least to the discerning few. "There has been a suspicion all along that European policy was not quite a stranger to those transactions," said the London *Times*¹⁰—a European policy, namely, apt to inflame religious fury and applauded by unthinking prejudice which clamored for what it called justice, aiming at blind, indiscriminate retribution on Druzes and Turks. At one of the meetings of the International Commission¹¹ some recommendations were made to Fu'ād Pasha in compliance with which "his Excellency summoned the Bishops of the various sects and, having communicated to them at large the view of the Commission, requested them to consult with the leading men of the several communities and present him with the names of those who might be considered to deserve

Russell. Consul Brant adds: "Only half the troops pass the night in bed, the other half patrolling from sunset to sunrise. The guards are supplied with ball-cartridges and are ordered, on the least symptom of rising, to fire on the mob. The Artillery are always in readiness for action....."

⁹ Of the letter from Consul Brant to Lord Russell quoted in the preceding note: "[Ibrāhim Bey Karamy] will not be controlled by the Vali Pasha and liberates prisoners on his own responsibility. He is known to receive money as bribes to a large extent and without a bribe justice cannot be obtained. In the matter of the recruiting he issued 300 tickets of exemption at 20,000 piastres (or about 165 £) per head. Out of this number only about 80 or 90 are paid into the Treasury; the holders of the remaining tickets paying smaller sums, which are supposed to have gone into Ibrahim Bey's pocket. The Jewish Rabbis have applied to me in respect to some Jews arrested on suspicion and who have been detained in prison for nearly two months; one having already died there. The Rabbis demand that they should be brought to trial and the Chief Rabbi offered to Ibrahim Karami his testimony that one of the prisoners was, all the time of the outbreak, in his house; to which Ibrahim Bey replied, 'Your testimony is valueless as they will all be condemned to death'." Lord Dufferin wrote of this individual to Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer in a letter, dated Bayrūt, November 1, 1860, that he "had abused his [Fu'ād Pasha's] trust in the most flagitious manner. He gave himself out as Fuad Pasha's Vicegerent; he frightened the Governor of the town into obedience; he extorted large sums of money from Christians and Mahometans; and practised in the vilest manner on the women who came to him as suppliants."

¹⁰ Issue of September 18, 1860.

¹¹ The tenth, held on November 14, 1860.

capital punishment. The result of this invitation was a list of 4,600 persons,¹³ whom these ecclesiastics wished, in cold blood, to consign to death. It is indeed pretended that they were upon this occasion the mere mouth-pieces of the Christian notables; but any one acquainted with the influence exercised by the prelates of the sects in this country must smile at the introduction of such a flimsy pretext."¹⁴ Fu'ad Pasha having rejected this list as utterly unreasonable, the Christians, headed by their clergy, were with the greatest difficulty prevailed upon to be more moderate in their demands and after a good deal of haggling presented a second list of "some 2000 individuals including nearly all the principal persons among the Druzes."¹⁵ Continued haggling reduced the number to 1200, the Christians refusing all the time to enter into particulars regarding the crimes imputed to the accused and to give evidence in support of their accusations, simply insisting on a general slaughter because they considered that all were guilty and deserved death.¹⁶

¹³ I. e. more than half "of the total number of 8000 grown-up men who constitute[d] the Druse population of the Lebanon [after the Druse exodus to Haurān in consequence of European interference]." Inclosure 9 in Nr 229 of the *Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Syria*, 1860-61. Cf the despatch, dated Foreign Office, January 16, 1861, from Lord Russell to Mr J. H. C. Fane, secretary of the British Legation at Vienna: "Again when the punishment of the Druses was in question, the Christian sects, through their Bishops, demanded that out of 8000 adult Druses, 4600 heads should be given to them to satiate their vengeance; so little has the doctrine of forgiveness of injuries been imbibed by those Maronite bishops and their flocks. In fact, though nominally Christians, they are in reality a fierce and barbarous race. They seek the extermination of a hostile tribe," See also the letter of March 23, 1861, from Lord Dufferin to Lord Russell: "According to the statistics which have been furnished to the Commission by the French and Austrian Consulates, but which the Austrian Consul and Commissioner tells me are not very accurate, it would appear that in Mount Lebanon Proper, there are no more than 5000 taxable Druses, i. e. males above the age of 15. On referring to the documents appealed to by the Bishops themselves, it would appear that out of this adult male population of 5000, the names of no less than 3,479 persons or about two-thirds of the adult population, have found their way into the lists of the Christians." The result of a careful analysis of the lists furnished to Fu'ad Pasha, which had been repeated twice over, says this same letter, "shows that the total of names sent in was not 4600 but 4946. Out of these 4946 persons, stated by the Bishops to represent a mingled array of Moslems, Metawali and Druses of the Lebanon and the Hauran, it appears that only 632 are Moslems or Metawali, and that only four are inhabitants of the Hauran; the remaining 4310 persons being Druses of the Lebanon."

¹⁴ Letter of January 23, 1861, from Lord Dufferin to Major Fraser.

¹⁵ Letter of January 10, 1861, from Major Fraser to Lord Dufferin, which seems to have reached its destination after the one mentioned in the preceding note had been despatched.

¹⁶ Cf the further contents of the letter of January 10, 1861, from Major Fraser to Lord Dufferin, confirmed in a letter of January 14 from the same to the same: "After many

Meanwhile they were misbehaving everywhere. To quote from the London *Times* of October 2, 1860: "Each [Christian] interprets the punishment of the Moslems as the beginning of Christian ascendancy; it appears that not only do the Christians, by order of Fuad Pasha, occupy a great number of Moslem houses in Damascus, but throughout Northern Syria they are venturing to satisfy old grudges by the plunder of their late persecutors." This was perfectly true. Major Fraser wrote from Mukhtāra to Lord Dufferin: "The Druzes further state, in bar of heavy punishment, that their loss of life has been very severe, amounting to upwards of 1000 killed, besides very many wounded, not only during the continuance of hostilities but also since, by Christians, who have utterly pillaged their villages and murdered, in cold blood, such inhabitants as they could lay their hands upon."¹⁶ Maronites followed the line of march of the French troops "and when they lit upon a helpless Druse old man or woman alone, murdered them without mercy."¹⁷ A special correspondence of the London *Times*,¹⁸ dated from the French camp at Bārūk, says: "Yet advantage is taken [by the Christians] of French troops passing through Druze and mixed villages to plunder and murder and even do worse." A Druze petition¹⁹ stated that the Christians were making the roads insecure; that since the French had gone into the mountains, the Christians who accompanied them slew upwards of one hundred Druzes openly before their eyes,²⁰ not to mention the horrors perpetrated out of sight and the wanton destruction of property. It

vague replies [the Christians] always returned to the same—that they could not give the evidence required, nor point out any individual more guilty than their [his?] neighbours, referring to the long lists formerly sent in as the only aid they could give. The Mufti then requested them to make that statement in writing; this they declined to do. He asked them to allow their reply to be written in Court and to affix their signatures; they refused this also. They were willing to speak it, but not to write it or to allow it to be written."

¹⁶ Nr 258 of the *Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Syria*, 1860-61.

¹⁷ Letter of January 16, 1861, from Lord Russell to Mr Fane.

¹⁸ Issue of October 19, 1860.

¹⁹ See the London *Times* of November 17, 1860.

²⁰ Particulars concerning the atrocities committed by Christians who accompanied the French column on its march to Dayr al-Qamar and farther to the Buqā'a, can be found in a letter, dated October 7, 1860, from Lord Dufferin to Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, Nr 160 (Inclosure 3) of the *Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Syria*, 1860-61.

was hardly an excuse that the French soldiers, cradled with their historic song, *Partant pour la Syrie*, were no angels either.²¹

"It is clear, indeed, that the French forces at present in Syria rather increase than allay irritation," wrote Lord Russell to Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer.²² Though British irritation at the reluctantly sanctioned French expedition was behind these words, they hardly exaggerated the situation. Fu'ād Pasha very adroitly turned this feature of the French occupation to his account when thwarting General Beaufort d'Hautpoul's ultimate design. The French column under that gallant commander with Bayrūt and a Turkish column under Farik Ismā'il Pasha²³ with Sidon as base of operations, were to co-operate in rounding up the Druzes. When the French column reached the confines of the Lebanon, Fu'ād Pasha, in an interview with General de Beaufort at Sughbīn, objected very strongly to its farther advance "which, he maintained, would render the pacification of the country next to impossible, while the crimes committed by the Christians [in its wake] would create blood-feuds that would embarrass the Government for years to come."²⁴ This brought the operations of the French column to a standstill in the Plain of the Buqā'a²⁵ and finally it had to turn back. Its commander-in-chief, rather sore at the polite request not to overstep the limits set by the Convention of August 3, 1860, intimated that Fu'ād Pasha's real motive was to give the guilty Druzes an opportunity for escape to Haurān. Defending himself, the Turkish commissioner slyly hinted at secret plans the French sought to promote by their expedition in the interest of humanity: "Si j'ai rendu

²¹ Especially, it seems, the Zouaves who, says a special correspondent of the London *Times*, writing from the French camp on the Litāny, near Jib Janīn, September 20, 1860, were nicknamed "jackals from their unerring scent for plunder."

²² Despatch of January 1, 1861.

²³ General Kmety, a Hungarian by birth, who, after entering the Turkish service, had distinguished himself as one of the defenders of Kars. He held a command under Halim Pasha in the army sent to support Fu'ād Pasha's mission to Syria on the military side and, though known for his pro-Christian proclivities, was received, says a special correspondent of the London *Times*, issue of October 19, 1860, in the Druze villages he passed through with his Turkish troops, with expressions of good will and perfect submission to the Porte, whereas in those traversed by the French, the Druzes had fled and the chances of tranquillising the country were rendered all the more remote.

²⁴ See the special correspondence from the French camp on the Litāny, dated September 20, in the London *Times* of October 20, 1860.

²⁵ See the special correspondence, dated Tannīn, October 7, in the London *Times* of November 1, 1860.

inutile la présence des troupes françaises à Damas ce n'est pas un crime pour moi.'"²⁶

The squabble was grist on the British mill. It furnished the British government with an excellent weapon dexterously to parry M. Thouvenel's moves towards an extension of the term of the French occupation, based on a report sent in by General de Beaufort, who gave as his opinion that Syria would require for its pacification a strong force composed of foreign troops for at least two years to come. Disturbed by the fear which Lord Palmerston had expressed, that namely a French occupation might lead to a French protectorate, they were on the contrary of the opinion that "if the French occupation of Syria were to be prolonged, we should probably find the apprehensions of the Syrian Maronites as strong in 1871 as they were in 1861; unless, indeed, in the mean time, under the protection of the Christian Powers, they had succeeded in exterminating the whole of the inhabitants of the Mountain who were not of their own party," wherefore "Her Majesty's Government are unable to join in any representation to the Porte, with a view of renewing the term of foreign occupation in Syria. As to any resolution on the part of the Powers of Europe to retain a European force in Syria without the consent of the Sultan, that would clearly be an act of war, and is not to be thought of by Powers who profess to entertain towards Turkey sentiments of friendship and who have together united in guaranteeing her integrity and independence."²⁷ In fact, war seemed imminent if Napoleon was to insist. M. Thouvenel succeeded nevertheless in obtaining the consent of the Powers to a postponement of the evacuation of Syria by the French troops until June 5, 1861.

Barring this empty diplomatic victory for her rival, Britain had her will: if she could not exercise a protectorate over Syria, no one else should. France's Roman experiment was not repeated in the Levant. When in 1849 a division under Oudinot had been sent to the Eternal City, it was only for a rapid operation, a momentary stay, Louis Napoleon said. In 1861 the French troops were still lingering there,²⁸ but after ten months of not too glorious exploits under

²⁶ Letter of January 2, 1861, from Fu'ad Pasha to Muhammad 'Aly Amin Pasha.

²⁷ Despatch of January 16, 1861, from Lord Russell to Mr Fane, intended to be read to Count von Rechberg and Rothenloewen, Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

²⁸ They evacuated Rome towards the end of December, 1866, only to be followed in October, 1867, by another French force.

the Syrian sun, their comrades in arms, compared with the triumphant crusaders when setting out, saw themselves obliged to re-embark for home. They did so silently, without the display that had marked their arrival, a poor fizzling out of an ambitious scheme hatched to regain the influence lost by the exclusion of France from the shaping of Near Eastern destinies in 1839. In 1840 she had been prevented from establishing for her own purpose a greater Egypt with Syria appended; in 1861 she was prevented from drawing Syria nearer to her in a more direct way. Concerning the ostensible object of the French expedition, according to M. Thouvenel's definition, the London *Morning Post*²⁹ was right in declaring that, launched when the Porte had already taken sufficient measures for re-establishing order, it produced nothing but evil. It only emphasized the truth of the frequent representations of Musurus Bey, Ambassador of Sultan 'Abd'al-Majid to the Court of St James, that the presence of foreign troops in Syria was an obstacle to the pacification of that country instead of a help.³⁰ Yet, we should not forget a redeeming feature of the French expedition. Seizing every opportunity to emulate Napoléon le Grand and remembering the scientific mission that accompanied him to Egypt, Victor Hugo's Napoléon le Petit had had the good idea of inviting Ernest Renan to a work of investigation, greatly facilitated by the presence and assistance of the French soldiers. One of the results was that splendid account of the brilliant scholar's labors, *Mission en Phénicie*.

As Fu'ad Pasha had foiled General Beaufort d'Hautpoul, he foiled his co-members of the International Commission whenever they went beyond their instructions, whose chief object consisted nominally in obtaining security for the future peace of Syria,³¹ Sultan 'Abd'al-Majid, by mouth of his delegate, rejecting all intervention except in the form of advice with regard to the organisation of the administration of Mount Lebanon on the lines of the arrangement of 1845.³² More often than not Fu'ad Pasha attended the meetings of the Commission by proxy, sending his secretary Abro Effendy to represent him. He evidently attached no importance to the stale arguments

²⁹ Issue of June 5, 1861.

³⁰ Cf the despatch, dated January 9, 1861, from Lord Russell to Earl Cowley.

³¹ Cf the despatch, dated July 30, 1860, from Lord Russell to Lord Dufferin.

³² Cf the letter, dated January 9, 1861, from Muhammad 'Aly Amin Pasha to Musurus Bey.

bandied by the delegates of the western Powers and had a ready excuse for his frequent absence in his exacting duties which required his personal supervision almost everywhere. When he attended, he was in the habit of springing surprises upon the European members which, on a larger scale, by others and on the part of Sultan 'Abd'al Ḥamīd II, were repeated in the memorable sitting of the Conference at Constantinople after Turkey's successful war with Servia, and reached their climax with Safvet Pasha rising at the moment of a salvo of artillery being fired, to explain to his astonished audience that this cannonade meant the promulgation of a constitution, manifestly intended to make further argumentation altogether superfluous. To return to Fu'ād Pasha: courteously but firmly he gave the Commission to understand that their endless debates led to nothing but his being hindered in the performance of his task.²³ The best they could do for the salvation of Syria which they professed to have at heart, was to stop talking. Their palaver being cut short at Bayrūt, they adjourned to Constantinople.

If little else, the Commission had accomplished something in the matter of indemnity. "I apprehend," wrote a correspondent of the London *Times*²⁴ with a candor deserving the highest praise, "that the Syrian question is, after all, *une question d'argent* and never more so than at the present time." "Foreign capital"²⁵ invested in the Lebanon and throughout Syria, insisted upon Turkish complicity in the massacres, to press the Turkish Government so much the more rigidly for indemnity. The European commissioners demanded indemnity each for his own Christian protégés. *À l'instar* of "foreign capital," the protégés exaggerated their losses, nay, wanted compensation for losses never sustained. We hear of that in consequence of the indemnity-hunters falling out among themselves over the division of the spoils, trying to secure a larger share by disparaging

²³ "Le Plénipotentiaire Impérial déplore vivement que, lorsqu'il consacre constamment ses efforts à empêcher le désordre, des encouragements soient donnés aux Chrétiens, et qu'une fraction de cette population pousse la masse à méconnaître l'autorité souveraine et à renouveler ces actes de vengeance qui sont, comme ils ont été, la source des calamités dont nous travaillons aujourd'hui à effacer les traces et à empêcher la reproduction." Communication made by Abro Effendy in the name of Fu'ād Pasha to the European members of the International Commission and appended to the protocol of their last official meeting but one, held April 29, 1860.

²⁴ Issue of November 17, 1860.

²⁵ The greater part of this European capital was invested in the silk industry.

one another's claims. The Maronite bishops, our friend Tūbiyā of course among the foremost, were at their old tricks "privately calling the Christians of districts in which they possess[ed] influence, to come at once to Bayrūt, while at the same time they transmit[ted] public letters to the villages, desiring the people to remain quietly at home and to trust to the benevolence of the Ottoman Government."³⁵ Every one in his sphere acted on the principle so happily formulated by Valérie Marneffe: Il faut seulement s'occuper de tirer le plus de foin à soi du râtelier.

While this conspiracy aimed at the financial fleecing of Turkey was going on, as usual whenever the benighted East offers opportunities of the kind to the disinterested, civilising West, plans were evolved for a future government of the Lebanon calculated to estrange that part of the Ottoman Empire from its legitimate ruler. Von Moltke's suggestion of twenty years earlier that a European, preferably a German prince, should be made king of Palestine under the joint control of the Christian Powers, was traceable in proposals from some delegates who wished the preferment of a scion of one of the houses then reigning in Europe, to the throne of a quasi-independent Lebanon. Others, mindful of the circumstance that the Porte, too, had a voice in the matter, proposed the less drastic measure of making the Lebanon a semi-independent pashalic under a Governor-General appointed with the assent of the European Powers. 'Abd'al-Qādir was named for the post, and Fu'ād Pasha³⁷ and Fu'ād Pasha's secretary, Abro Effendy,

³⁵ Letter, dated June 2, 1861, from Colonel Fraser to Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, in which he speaks also of pretended damage to the silk industry of Dayr al-Qamar: "Some of the inhabitants of Deir-el-Kamar were said to have thrown away their half-completed silk-harvest; but I have the greatest doubts on the subject. If anything of the kind did occur, I imagine that but a few handfuls of cocoons or silkworms were purposely destroyed, in order to furnish specious evidence for a statement that people were fleeing for their lives. With no desire to put an uncharitable construction upon such assertions, I can in no other manner explain to myself the pretended fact that poor people should throw away incipient cocoons, whose value would have been an important item to them after the past year of disasters, while many of the richer people remaining on the spot would have been only too glad to purchase at a cheap rate and at a place where plenty of food could be had for the completion of the crop, an article which forms the object of the keenest speculation at this season throughout all Lebanon."

³⁷ Much to his disgust because it tended to create the impression that he was intriguing for himself, Lord Dufferin, with the approval of Lord Russell, had reserved for him the dignity of Vice-Roy of Syria in a project for the government of that country, rejected by the Continental Powers including Turkey. See the *Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Syria*, 1860-61, *passim*.

the latter being specially recommended as a Christian. After much wrangling it was decided to put the Lebanon under a Christian Governor-General, appointed by the Porte, the conditions of his appointment being agreed to by a protocol, dated June 9, 1861,³⁸ and promulgated by one of the last firmāns Sultan 'Abd'al-Majid signed.³⁹ The first incumbent was Da'ūd Pasha, a Catholic Armenian.

It took three years to evolve from the regulations referred to in the document just mentioned as a *règlement définitif*, the modified regulations of September 6, 1864,⁴⁰ sometimes called the Charter of the Lebanon, which also had to be modified again and again.⁴¹ The most important provisions were embodied in art. 5 which abolished the feudal institutions that once played such an important part in the history of the Mount; and in art. 9 which opened the door wider than ever to the abuses and malpractices of the pernicious system of vicarious extra-territoriality. Considering the "Charter of the Lebanon" as a whole, it restrained, under the authority of Europe, the Sultan's exercise of his sovereign rights over the Lebanon in its widest sense,⁴² established in fact a European protectorate on the

³⁸ See Appendix, IV.

³⁹ He died June 25, 1861, and was succeeded successively by his brother 'Abd'al-Azīz and his sons Murād V, whose reign lasted but three months, 'Abd'al-Hamid II, Muḥammad V, and Muḥammad VI, the present Sultan of the Ottoman Empire.

⁴⁰ These modified regulations (see *Nouveau Recueil Général de Traité*s, etc., XVIII, 227) were later adopted as a model for the statute under which the Turks governed until recently the Island of Crete.

⁴¹ The last time before the outbreak of the war by protocol of December 23, 1912, at the time of the somewhat violent recrudescence of Franco-British rivalry which, notwithstanding the Entente Cordiale, marked that year's Syrian developments. The principal changes made, were the assimilation of the system of election of the members of the Administrative Council to that which was in force for the local council in the district of Zahlah, and the granting of a seat in the Council to the Maronites of Dayr al-Qamar as to the Druzes of an additional seat in the district of the Shīf. Other regulations concerned the drawing up of the provincial budget by the Governor-General in agreement with the Administrative Council, while the accounts of previous years were to form the subject of a definite liquidation, and the trial of commercial cases between natives of the Lebanon by local courts of first and second instance. The Maronite port of Junah and the Druze port of Nahr Yunūs were opened to foreign merchant vessels and the newly appointed Governor-General was to inquire into the application of a recent survey and census to the local system of taxation, being instructed to submit a report not later than six months before the expiry of his term, regarding the revision of art. 15 of the organic statute of the Mount, which established general rules for the assessment of the taxes and disposal of the revenue.

⁴² The Lebanon in its original, restricted sense embraces little more than the district of Bisharrāh where the famous cedars are found, relics of the ancient forest of the "high

principle acknowledged by the signatories of the Treaty of Paris which "contemplated the substitution of a collective protectorate of the five Powers on behalf of the Christian subjects of the Porte in place of an exclusive protectorate by one Power alone....."⁴³ The term for which the successive Governors General of the Lebanon were to be appointed, originally three years, was extended to five years by the protocol of September 6, 1864, and to ten years by the protocols of 1868, 1873 and 1883. The autonomy enjoyed by the Mount under their guidance, hailed as a precious gift from Christian Europe to its Christian inhabitants, has however fallen miserably short of the blessings it was to confer. For one thing it did not end religious dissension, sectarian intrigue and squabbles for predominance among the Powers.

As regards the Maronites, they lorded it over the Druzes to their hearts' content, considering themselves superior to any kind of government.⁴⁴ Their European friends helped them to indemnity and revenge. "But the Druzes in all their successes," said an American missionary,⁴⁵ "have no protector. There is an immense array, an overwhelming influence against them. They have defended themselves and their country; they avenged their own and others' wrongs, and won a signal triumph over their enemies in the field....." with the result that they had to leave the Lebanon if they valued their lives and property, seeking safety with their brethren in Haurān.⁴⁶

and lifted up" sung by the psalmist and celebrated by prophets, and now, in their diminished grandeur, miserable victims of the world war, owing to the scarcity of wood for military purposes that also played havoc with the olive-, mulberry- and other fruit-trees of Syria.

⁴³ Despatch, dated September 13, 1860, from Lord Russell to Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer.

⁴⁴ Their patriarchs never took the trouble to enter into personal relations with the governors of the Mount under the new dispensation, even if these latter were Christians. Cf SAINT-RENÉ TAILLANDIER, *La France et la Syrie, Revue des Deux Mondes*, February 15, 1919.

⁴⁵ Quoted in the London *Times* of November 1, 1860.

⁴⁶ The part played by Europe in their ejection from their ancient demesne, has certainly not brought a change for the better in the feelings of the Druzes towards the Franks, spoken of by BURCKHARDT when he referred, under the date of March 19, 1812, to "a tradition current among them that the Europeans will one day overthrow their commonwealth," adding: "this hatred has been increased since the invasion of the French (under General Buonaparte) and the most unpardonable insult which one Druze can offer to another is to say to him 'May God put a hat on you!'" Later observers have discounted "this hatred" but reports of the Druze insurrection of 1911 show that the events of 1860 and their sequel are by no means forgotten in Haurān. The recent story of that region

Religious belief had been converted into a geographical expression, to borrow Lord Dufferin's words,⁴⁷ and the Maronites crowed victory. With the emigration of the Druzes they had gained their end; not by forcible expulsion of their enemies according to the original plan, but by posing as martyred saints when the war of extirpation they had set on foot, led to their own defeat. Unable to repress their innate arrogance and turbulence, whetted by the fanatic dictates of their priests, they soon found pretexts for new agitation and in 1866 their Christian Governor-General saw himself obliged "to arrest some of the leading members of the family of Joseph Karam who had been exiled on account of his being implicated in the troubles of 1860 and pardoned on the intervention of the French Government, a Maronite, now in arms against the Turk Government."⁴⁸ More than ten years later an observant traveller wrote: "The old fanatical influences are still at work and are a source of trouble and difficulty to the unfortunate Governor-General, even though, as in the case of the Lebanon, he must be himself a Christian. When he manifests impartiality, he is accused of impiety; while his attempts to control the passions of his fellow-Christians are stigmatised as treachery to a religion which professes to be one of brotherly love."⁴⁹

France, not at all disposed to relinquish her more and more disputed protectorate over the Catholic Christians in the Levant, the less so since her aspirations in Egypt began to meet resistance too, raised a tremendous cry against the proposed re-election of Rustam Pasha⁵⁰ as governor of the Lebanon when that functionary's term of office expired on April 22, 1883. He did not please the Maronites and "a certain Nakhl Radra Abdul Akhad, who [gave] himself out as the representative of the famous agitator Yousouf Caram, [had] arrived at Constantinople, with the view of making representations.

continues to be "one of melancholy intrigue, slaughter and confusion—Druze revolts, serious defeats of Turkish forces and then the achievement of the subjection of the Druzes by dividing them against each other." Sir GEORGE ADAM SMITH, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁴⁷ Letter of November 14, 1860, to Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer.

⁴⁸ Letter of February 17, 1866, from Mr E. J. Morris, Minister-Resident of the United States at Constantinople, to the Hon. William H. Seward, Secretary of State, Washington. D. C. *Papers relating to Foreign Affairs accompanying the Annual Message of the President to the 2d Session, 39th Congress*, 1866, Part II.

⁴⁹ L. OLIPHANT, *The Land of Gilead, with Excursions in the Lebanon*, pp. 354/5.

⁵⁰ Who had succeeded Franco Nasry Pasha, an Italian by birth, the successor of Da'ud Pasha. Cf Note 81 to the Translation of the Text.

alleged to be in the name of the population of the Lebanon, against [his] reappointment.”⁵¹ The French Government warmly espoused the cause of Yūsuf Karam, which was the cause of the French party in Syria: “L’administration du Gouverneur actuel a donné lieu à des plaintes nombreuses de la part des Chrétiens du Liban; elle a excité chez eux de tels mécontentements qu’à plusieurs reprises des agitations se seraient produites, si les Agents Français n’étaient parvenus, aux prix d’efforts incessants, à faire prévaloir les conseils de prudence et de modération.”⁵² This statement had to be taken cum grano salis, but in the face of strong French opposition the British Government dropped their candidate, the late incumbent, whose strong, impartial administration, supported by the aristocratic and conservative element of the population, did not suit the Maronite clergy.⁵³ After much discussion and correspondence, which gave full scope to the old animosities in the weighing and rejecting of three other aspirants, Prenk Bib Doda, Nasry Bey and Danish Effendy, it was agreed on May 6, to appoint Wassa Effendy, a Roman Catholic Albanian, Lieutenant-Governor of the Vilayet of Adrianople, whose conduct in the Mount proved, however, far from satisfactory and “gave rise to scandal.”⁵⁴

The Sublime Porte maintained in that and similar disputes in its own house concerning its own affairs, a really sublime air of lofty indifference, especially when the Powers were morality-mongering, finding fault with its methods, interfering in its every act.⁵⁵ The old story

⁵¹ Letter, dated January 15, 1883, from Mr H. Wyndham, first secretary of the British Legation at Constantinople, to Earl Granville, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

⁵² Verbal note delivered, February 9, 1883, by M. Fallières, French Minister of the Interior, to Viscount Lyons, Ambassador of H. M. Queen Victoria to the French Republic.

⁵³ Rustam Pasha held afterwards for some time the post of ambassador from the Porte to the Court of St James.

⁵⁴ His successors were Naüm Pasha, later ambassador from the Porte to the French Republic, Musaffar Pasha, Yūsuf Pasha and Ohannes Pasha Coyumjyan, mutasarrif of the Lebanon at the outbreak of the war, whose candidacy and appointment accentuated the Franco-British Syrian discord referred to in Note 41.

⁵⁵ A true word on this subject came from Mr G. H. Boker, Minister-Resident of the United States at Constantinople. Transmitting to the Hon. Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C., a copy of a new stamp-act, promulgated by the Porte but whose enforcement the representatives of the foreign powers refused to sanction, he wrote, January 29, 1874: “None but questionable friends or undoubted cynics will deny that the government of the Ottoman Empire is sufficiently liberal and enlightened to conduct its international relations on a footing of equality and, as between nations, to be entitled to receive all that it is willing to concede. . . . The persons who are forever crying out

of the mote and the beam! The political systems of Europe of the Europeans were certainly not so perfectly arranged that it could pretend to immaculate superiority. Yet, on that assumption European diplomacy permitted itself liberties with regard to Turkey which the Powers would have strongly resented in their mutual relations. Though in the event of non-compliance with their demands they did not threaten the Grand Signior with a Holy War, something out of fashion since Lewis the Pious,⁶⁶ they claimed, taking the condition of Syria or any other part of the Ottoman Empire as point of departure for their argument, that their interests were at stake whatever might happen within its confines. The interests, namely, of Europe as a collective conception; but when Europe as an agglomeration of nations took the matter up, the separate governments could never agree except in the rare cases of the main chance creating a common purpose. So, giving way in small things, the Sick Man on the Golden Horn as they began to call the Padishah, remained calm, unimpressed by the plotting and counterplotting for his heritage. Alluding to the Lebanon business, France accused Britain of being his patron;⁶⁷ Britain, assuming her most patronising air, mildly rebuked herself for letting him live to die his natural death.⁶⁸ Greedy to grasp what did not belong to any of them, the Powers were gathering round him, "like a band of brigands watching some booty which they [dared] not

that the Ottoman Empire should do something for itself, should develop its resources, should reform its judiciary, should civilise and educate its people, should liken itself to the nations of Europe, are the last persons to permit it to take a single step without tugging at those leading-strings that confine it within its ancient barbarous limits. I have watched with pain and shame the working of the insidious policy through which the Christian nations are sapping his remnant of strength, draining the last coin from his treasury, delivering him over to the usurer, the sharper, the swindler of their own creed I trust that the United States will never become a party nor a patient witness to the undermining process which is slowly working the ruin of the Ottoman Empire; that we will concede to the Turks all that we demand for ourselves;" *Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, transmitted to Congress with the Annual Message of the President, December 7, 1874*, pp. 1148/50.

⁶⁶ According to the Marquis de Pomponne, appointed by Louis XIV to succeed Lionne as his Minister for Foreign Affairs. Cf K. BLUMSTENGEL, *Leibniz's Aegyptischer Plan*.

⁶⁷ Cf ST MARC GIRARDIN, *Les Affaires de Syrie d'après les Papiers Anglais*: "Les Anglais ou du moins les ministres anglais sont les patrons politiques de la Turquie." *Revue des Deux Mondes*, August 1, 1861.

⁶⁸ "The Sultan rules in the North through our jealousy of Russia and in the South through our jealousy of France," leading article of the London *Times*, July 10, 1860.

seize for fear of quarrelling among themselves over its distribution."⁵⁹ If their predatory instincts needed an excuse, Metternich had furnished it when writing⁶⁰ in the turmoil of the Napoleonic wars: "Nous ne pouvons sauver la Turquie; il faut donc aider à la partager et tâcher d'en avoir le plus grand lot possible." He had Russia in mind and it was Russia again, spreading out in Asia as an oil-stain on a sheet of paper, tightening her grip on Armenia after the acquisition of Erivan and reacquisition of Kars, that gave so much uneasiness to Disraeli who, after the Crimean War, framed his whole foreign policy toward checkmating her by every available means.

The Sick Man on the Golden Horn had been sick a very long time. Sir Thomas Roe, sent on an embassy to Constantinople by the first Stuart king of England, had already spoken of the decline in his health with a hint at turning it to best advantage,⁶¹ and predictions of his early demise by inspired writers on his ailments, had been current ever since.⁶² But to the dismay of his "disinterested" friends, speculating on the reversion of his estate, he showed occasionally redoubtable returns to vigorous life. A reason the more for carping at his administration, specifically so with regard to his Christian subjects, ever prone to complain.⁶³ Turkish fanaticism was a word in every one's mouth while nobody appeared to suspect the existence of Christian fanatics even after the events of 1860 in the Lebanon—nobody save those that knew the real state of affairs and dared to disclose it as, for instance, the American missionary Cyrus Hamlin, who declared in a lecture, delivered at Boston, October, 1876: "Turkish officials are

⁵⁹ Rev MALCOLM MAC COLL, *The Sultan and the Powers*, Preface.

⁶⁰ From Paris, January 18, 1808, to Count Stadion, Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

⁶¹ "Both the force and discipline of this fearfull empire is too farr decayed, that if the princes of Christendom would either knowe or beleieve, it would invite them to that accord and unity, the contrary where of has bene the only greatness and cause of encrease of his monarchy." *Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte from the year 1621 to 1628 inclusive*, p. 33.

⁶² Besides being of the kind specified in EZEKIEL, XIII, 3, some of those prophets—whose genus, by the way, is far from extinct—betrayed in their cock-sureness a curious unfamiliarity with the matter they so loudly decanted upon.

⁶³ And known of yore as a seditious element of the population, embracing every opportunity "[um] diese Mohamedaner als Unmenschen zu beschreiben und sie in allen Stücken zu belügen u. s. w. Es sollten die europäischen Christen sich daher schämen denen abergläubischen und abgöttischen Griechen und Römer nachzuschwatzten oder, wie der beliebte Roland sagt: aus ihren stinkenden Pfützen zu schöpfen." *Historie des türkischen Reichs nach Herrn Salmons und van Goch*, 1748, quoted by A. HALLE VON SAMO in *Die Völker des osmanischen Reiches*.

generally kindhearted men. All the persecution which Protestant missions have suffered in Turkey originated in the Christian priests, communities and churches opposed to the Protestants. The Turks are naturally a tolerant people."⁶⁴ Another American missionary had written to Lord Dufferin, the year after the massacres: "Having said thus much in the way of a statement of facts, let me add an opinion and that is that the better government for the Lebanon, at least at present, is the Ottoman, directly. I would have neither Maronite nor Greek, nor Druse. I believe that the people would more generally be satisfied, after a time, with the Turks than either of the others."⁶⁵

In fact, it was not only the duty but the interest of Turkey to make the antagonistic "nations" that compose her population arrive at a modus vivendi, thereby to ensure peace and order. Unfortunately, however, both her European and Asiatic provinces were exciting the cupidity of the enviously hostile Powers. Hence more conflicting claims and jarring diplomacies, an international rivalry in which Emperor Wilhelm's visit of 1898 to Constantinople and Jerusalem ranks easily as the most spectacular feature.⁶⁶ The Baghdad Railway, which emphasized the Pan-Germanic opinion that Germany's future is largely bound up with the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris, together with South America and what not, was designed to be the economic instrument for the realisation of concomitant hopes in those regions, including the Persian Gulf, covering them as it were with a preventive mortgage.⁶⁷ The idea of sending trains to run in the track of Alexander the Great, had taken possession of the German imagination for more than half a century, nothing less, indeed, than the reopening of

⁶⁴ Cf H. DE WORMS, *England's Policy in the East*.

⁶⁵ See Inclosure 13 in Nr 36 of the *Correspondence relating to the Affairs of Syria*, Part II.

⁶⁶ This visit of the Emperor Wilhelm II to Constantinople was the second he made, the first having taken place in November, 1889. As regards his visit to the Holy Land, ostensibly to inaugurate, after its restoration, the Church of the Savior, acquired on the spot, twenty years earlier, by his father, then Crown Prince of Prussia, no German Emperor had been there since in 1229 Frederick II, excommunicated by Pope Gregory IX, took possession of Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth, ceded to him by Sultan Malik al-'Adil, and, because no priest would officiate, himself placed on his head the crown of Godfrey of Bouillon, presuming also on rights claimed *jure uxoris*, by reason, namely, of his marriage with Yolande, daughter of Queen Marie de Montferrat and Jean de Brienne, who did not relish those proceedings at all.

⁶⁷ To borrow an expression used by Count CRESSATY when expatiating, in his latest volume, on *The Interests of France in Syria*.

the ancient royal road to Persia, adapting it to modern traffic.⁶⁸ Germany entered the lists also as a 'candidate for the protectorate over the Christians in the Near (not to mention the Far) East, encroaching upon if not ignoring Britain's vested rights with respect to the Protestants. As regards the Catholics, she failed in her attempt, *pro bono suo*, to establish direct diplomatic relations between the Porte and the Holy See, by means of a Turkish ambassador to the Vatican and a Papal nuncio in Constantinople. The French protectorate received heavier blows from Austria⁶⁹ and especially from Italy,⁷⁰ both contending that France had forfeited her rights as champion of the Catholic Church by the anti-clerical laws of 1905. French anti-clericalism, though, was again declared not to be an article of exportation⁷¹ and a few months before the great war broke

⁶⁸ Originally a British idea, developed in the project for an Euphrates Valley Railroad which was to follow in its main features the course laid down by General Francis Rawdon Chesney as determined by the results of his expedition in 1835-37 for an overland route to India, with its western terminus at Alexandretta on the Mediterranean and its eastern terminus at Kuweit on the Persian Gulf, spanning a distance of about 920 miles.

⁶⁹ We have already spoken of Austria's claims to a protectorate over the Roman Catholics of Turkey in Europe. Besides that she had inherited from Venice the protectorate over the Copts and supported, like Italy, important Catholic missions in the Sūdān.

⁷⁰ Where the active National Society for Assistance to Italian Missionaries, with headquarters at Florence, is only one expressive sign of the country's zeal to extend the Italian protectorate over Christians, especially Roman Catholics, in foreign lands.

⁷¹ As Gambetta formulated the idea which already had moved the Comité du Salut Public, notwithstanding the energy displayed in its proscription of Christianity in France, to recommend to its Envoy in Constantinople "d'assister aux cérémonies du culte et d'y observer l'attitude recueillie du représentant de l'ancienne monarchie," because "les rapports de cette espèce, établis par la nature même, sont au-dessus des variations de gouvernement." France, whatever her attitude towards religion at home, ever held and still holds fast to the rights acquired by the first capitulations of 1535, which the Sire de la Forêt signed for Francis I; extended by those of 1604, which Savary de Brèves signed for Henry IV; by those of 1672, which the Marquis Nointel signed for Louis XIV, and so on until they were expressly reserved by art. 62 of the Treaty of Berlin. Cf A. D'AVRIL, *Négociations relatives au Traité de Berlin*, p. 473. "Dans les provinces arabes de la Turquie, seulement, notre protectorat s'étendait sur cinq églises indigènes," says E. JUNG, *Les Puissances devant la Révolte Arabe*, p. 188, where he enumerates the following four, classed according to their importance: "les Maronites (450.000) avec un patriarche et huit évêques diocésains; les Grecs-melkites-catholiques (150.000) avec un patriarche et treize évêques; les Syriens catholiques (60.000) avec un patriarche et huit évêques; les Latins arabes en Palestine (20.000). avec un patriarche et un évêque italiens. De plus, nous protégions les deux délégués apostoliques de Beyrouth et de Bagdad dont la juridiction s'étend sur toutes les nationalités. Tous les couvents catholiques relevaient également de nos consuls, quelque fût leur pays d'origine." Cf an anonymous article, *La Politique allemande et le Protectorat des Missions Catholiques*, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of September 1, 1898.

out, M. Leygues proposed and carried in the *Chambre des Députés* a motion to the effect that the Minister of Foreign Affairs should keep a watchful eye on French politico-religious interests in the Levant.

Russia, meanwhile, strengthened her hold on the Orthodox Greeks, which was becoming a factor of growing importance in western encroachment on the Near East. Muhammadan aspirations, on the other hand, found an outlet in the Arabian movement whose spiritual fathers claimed the Arabian countries for the Arabs, to be welded into an Islamic empire that should embrace the vast region from the Tigris and Euphrates to the Isthmus of Suez, and called upon all its future citizens, still in Turkish servitude, to help achieve their patriotic purpose.⁷² Sultan 'Abd'al-Ḥamīd's Pan-Islamic scheme⁷³ was checked by the revolution of 1908, and the leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress, which then took the reins of government, alienated the Arabs of the Ottoman Empire as they alienated Russia, by substituting Pan-Turanian ideals, originally of Magyar origin, whenever and wherever they thought that the Pan-Islamic idea would not work out well in practice. Dreaming of a Triple Alliance of Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, which was to provide the nucleus for an Islamic League on the principle of political independence, they wavered, in fact, between risking their stake on the religious or on the racial issue of the big game they played. Affectionately cosmopolitan to a degree and strongly suspected of rank unbelief by the Old Turks,

⁷² See NEGIB AZOURY, *Le Réveil de la Nation Arabe*, and JUNG, *op. cit.*, where a translation is given of the proclamation issued, with this end in view, by the Central Committee of the "Ligue de la Patrie Arabe."

⁷³ The father of Pan-Islamism as adopted with some modifications by Sultan 'Abd'al-Ḥamīd II to support his tottering throne, was Sayid Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Ḥusayn, born in 1839 at Assadabad near Kābul, whence his surname al-Afghany. With the assistance of Egyptian adherents he founded in Paris a periodical to further the Pan-Islamic cause, which, however, was suppressed at the request, it is said, of the British Government. He died in 1897 at Constantinople but his idea grew and when in 1910 the plan of the Young Egyptians to hold a congress in Paris had to be abandoned, owing to opposition in the same quarter, a Pan-Islamic Congress was convened to meet in Mecca. But now 'Abd'al-Ḥamīd put in his veto: a conference of that kind in that place might fan the smouldering objection of the Arabs against the Turkish Khalifate. He preferred to guide Pan-Islamism into channels more conducive to his personal advantage, endeavoring among other things to strengthen the ties between Constantinople as the seat of the Khalifate, and all parts of the Muhammadan world, one of his trump cards being the Ḥejāz Railway to the building of which millions were contributed by the faithful everywhere.

who scorned them as the tools of presumptuous infidels,⁷⁴ Enver, Talāt and Jamāl, cream of the cream of the Young Turks, showed each in his sphere an indecision, a lack of generalship and statesmanship which proved that the Hamidian régime was not favorable to the formation of strong characters, to the breeding of constructive talent either for its own support or in the opposition.

With Talāt Pasha failing at home and Enver Pasha in the Caucasus, Jamāl Pasha⁷⁵ was not much of a success as the exponent of Young Turkish efficiency in 'Arabistān. In Syria, with Egypt a hotbed of propaganda for the Arabian movement,⁷⁶ the events connected with the revolution of 1908 had fostered the desire for emancipation which was firmly expressed in the General Assembly of delegates from elective committees constituted in the vilayet of Bayrūt for the purpose of advocating reform. Eighty-six in number, they met at the capital on January 12, 1913. Fully sanctioned by the Turkish authorities in its initial stages, the activity of the committees and their constituents soon developed in a manner which made it advisable to hold a congress, intended to give wider scope to the reformers' efforts, rather in Paris than in Constantinople as arranged at an earlier date. Their programme gradually expanding far beyond the desiderata advanced in the beginning⁷⁷ and in accelerated tempo when their ambitions drew

⁷⁴ The incongruity of an alliance with Christian Germany and the declaration of the Sheikh al-Islām of November 13, 1914, preaching the Holy War, was not lost on the Old Turks, who took little stock in Emperor Wilhelm's disinterested profession of brotherly love for all Muhammadans on earth, voiced at Damascus in 1898.

⁷⁵ Of very humble origin like many of the Young Turkish leaders, Ahmad Jamāl had distinguished himself in inferior commands during the Balkan wars. As a reward for his gallant conduct at Lule Burgas and Bunar Hissar in the decisive battle of the Bulgarian campaign, he was made commander of the first army corps at Constantinople, thereupon Minister of Public Works, in 1914 Minister of Marine. When Turkey threw in her lot with the Central Powers, he took charge of civil and military affairs in 'Arabistān.

⁷⁶ Cf. R. HARTMANN, *Die arabische Frage*, and a review by the same author of K. T. KHAIRALLA's book, *La Syrie*, in *Der Islam*, VI, 1, April, 1915: "Syrien ist ohne Frage der Mittelpunkt der modern-arabischen Bewegung innerhalb des türkischen Reichs."

⁷⁷ The primary programme propounded in fifteen articles the desirability, among other quite reasonable reformatory measures, of an extension of the powers exercised by the General Councils which, composed of Moslemin and non-Moslemin in equal numbers, were to assist the Turkish governor in his administrative duties; of certain statutes no longer in agreement with the actual condition of the population, being repealed; of the functionaries not directly responsible to the central authority, being elected by the people themselves; of a definite part of the local taxes being expended on local improvement, on agricultural needs, on public works and education; of foreign specialists being appointed to benefit the country with their experience in various departments of the civil service; of the Arabic language being recognised as the vehicle for official correspondence.

further nourishment from the anti-Turkish campaign conducted by agents of the Entente Powers, it seemed requisite to Jamāl Pasha that their seditious agitation should be repressed. Acting upon this conviction and perhaps animated by a widely suspected desire for absolute dominion, his procedure was more energetic than conciliatory. Per contra the Syrians created for him and those he put in authority all the trouble they could. As regards the Lebanon in particular, the Maronites did not belie their reputation for turbulence and disobedience to the law of the land. Since the carrying into effect of the regulations for the administration of their mountain home, forced upon the Porte after the happenings of 1860, there had been abundant proof, as already pointed out, of the truth that administrative internationalism tends infallibly to administrative impotence and consequent disorganisation. The Christian mutaşarrif at Dayr al-Qamar could not move a finger without being hampered by the "advice" of the consular representatives at Bayrūt of the five Powers, signatories of the protocols of June 9, 1861, and September 6, 1864, who, far from agreeing among themselves, pulled their joint protégé this way and that, each according to instructions calculated to establish his government's predominance and confound rival influence. The war gave the signal for increased lawlessness and disorder, unrestrained by a thus vitiated, notoriously corrupt local administration.

Jamāl Pasha found it necessary to garrison Dayr al-Qamar, Zālkha and other strategically important towns with Anatolian troops. The Christian mutaşarrif, who offered his resignation, was first retained in office but later replaced by a Turkish functionary.⁷⁸ Elias Huwayek, the patriarch of the Maronites, was removed from his official residence⁷⁹ to a locality where he remained under close observation. Several of

⁷⁸ Aly Munif, succeeded in his turn, as Governor of the Lebanon, by Ismā'īl Hakky. Both were honest and efficient administrators, anxious to improve the condition of the Mount. Though there was much inevitable suffering during the war, owing to the generally bad economic situation, and many died of actual want, nothing justifies the insinuation that the Turks were fiendishly set upon starving the Maronites to death. On the contrary, we have it on good authority that they did what they could do to bring up and distribute food.

⁷⁹ Since the middle of the fifteenth century the monastery of Qannūbin (a corruption of the late Latin *coenobium* or, perhaps, of the original Greek form of the word), situated in the Jibbah Bisharry and said to have been founded by Theodosius the Great, was for more than three hundred years the official seat of the Maronite patriarchate until successive patriarchs preferred to reside at the neighboring village of Dīmān.

the lower Maronite clergy, who preached open revolt, were imprisoned with a number of the most refractory of their flocks and priests and laymen of other denominations, and some of the ringleaders condemned to death and executed. As in its note to the Powers, dated September 9, 1914, the Porte declared the abolition of the capitulations, so it denounced in November, 1916, the conventions by which special privileges had been granted to the Lebanon, in one breath with its denunciation of the Treaties of Paris and Berlin, signed respectively on March 30, 1856, and July 12, 1878. Lebanonians living abroad, speaking through their political organisations in New York, Buenos Ayres, Cairo and elsewhere, were loud in their protests against this extinction of their Mount's autonomy, and to them, too, we owe many harrowing details of Jamāl Pasha's manner in effecting it. To be just, though, we ought to state that he respected the exemption from military service accorded to the inhabitants of the Lebanon by their "charter" of 1864, and that for his red-handed zeal in quelling the anti-Turkish disturbances there as in the rest of the territory under his command, he was sharply reprimanded by the men who were pulling the wires at Constantinople. Finally he fell altogether in disgrace when not only his operations against the British forces in Egypt miscarried like those against the rebels of the Hejāz aided with British gold and advice, but even his defence of Syria as a province of the Ottoman Empire broke down, notwithstanding the assistance of German officers and gunners. 'Izzat Pasha, one of his subordinate generals, the chief of whose staff was the Bavarian Colonel Kress von Kressenstein, had to evacuate Palestine before the victorious onrush of Sir Edmund Allenby's army; the occupation of Jerusalem on December 10, 1917, was followed by that of Aleppo on October 26, 1918. Therewith Turkish rule in Syria came to an end.^{**}

The history of the great struggle that dislocated the world's economy, and of the Peace Conference in the throes of reconstruction, does not belong here. For an accurate survey of the present situation in the Near East we must, however, refer to the secret treaties concluded

^{**} Emulating the French, whose Syrian expedition of 1860 had resulted in Ernest Renan's *Mission en Phénicie*, the Germans behind Jamāl Pasha's military efforts exercised their influence also in the archaeological field. To a commission, appointed at their instance and directed in its labors by Dr Th. Wiegand, we owe, *inter alia*, the collection of photographs published under the title: *Alte Denkmäler aus Syrien, Palästina und Westarabien, 100 Tafeln mit beschreibenden Text*, Berlin, 1918.

in due course of mining and counter-mining, specifically to those that bearing on the partition of Turkey in Asia, were kept carefully concealed until the psychological moment had arrived for springing them upon friends and foes alike.⁸¹ This partition of Turkey in Asia, conformable to the conflicting titles asserted in those secret treaties, which to prove or disprove eventually to be allowed or disallowed, severely taxes the friendship of the Entente Powers, is but a sequel to the partition of Turkey in Europe, a foregone conclusion ever since in 1699 the stipulations of the Peace of Carlowitz initiated the decay of the Ottoman Empire. No system of guarantees to preserve its integrity, *de facto* a system of tutelage categorically developed in the Treaty of Paris, could save that heterogeneous complex from crumbling away. And the jealousies which prevented until now its general breakdown, its complete spoliation favorable or prejudicial to this Power or that, are again in full swing at this very moment. Trying to steal marches upon one another in the application for their own profit of the idea of the "parallel co-existence" of the Christian communities subject to the Porte in Asia, as formulated by Gortshakoff in his famous memorandum of 1867, we see the comrades in arms of yesterday falling out over the spoils. Indeed, new alliances for common action against a common enemy can abate and divert but never automatically eradicate old rivalries. Suspicious envy, picking out its accustomed pattern of contention on the official display of fraternal affection, indicates clearly that we are still confronted with the *damnosa hereditas* of European diplomacy at its worst, defined by Mr John (now Lord) Morley as "that shifting, intractable and interwoven

⁸¹ The list is growing daily, but so far as known at the moment of this going to press, they are the Anglo-Franco-Russo-Italian agreement of April 26, 1915, revealed through the vexatious candor of the revolutionary leaders at Petrograd; the Anglo-French agreement whose text, as contained in a letter, dated May 9, 1916, from M. Paul Cambon, French Ambassador at London, to Sir Edward Grey, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was published by *Le Temps*; the agreement which after the meeting at Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne let Italy into the new deal on the basis of the memoranda, dated August 21, 1917, exchanged between her representative and those of Great Britain and France; the agreements separately entered into by France and Russia, and by Great Britain and the Hejâz, which latter derived additional significance from a treaty concluded between Great Britain and Persia that, to quote the *Saturday Review* of August 23, 1919, seems to establish a "tolerably complete protectorate for a loan of £2,000,000,"—at the moderate interest of seven per cent, we add.

tangle of conflicting interests, rival peoples and antagonistic faiths that is veiled under the name of the Eastern Question."

The pacific tendencies of the secret treaties are nicely illustrated by the Greco-Italian amenities consequent on the aggressions hatched in Rome and Athens to trick and forestall each other in Asia Minor. Since we hear so much of Turkish atrocities, why next to nothing of the Greeks turning Smyrna into a shambles, slaughtering their prisoners in full sight of the allied warships as confirmed in the House of Commons by Mr Cecil B. Harmsworth, British Under-secretary for Foreign Affairs.⁵² By analogy and recalling the horrors of the Balkan wars, we can judge what happened and still happens in the interior. Seeing that capital is made out of the Turkish massacres in Armenia, as in 1860 out of the Druze massacres in the Lebanon,⁵³ we may likewise ask why so little has been said of the massacres in Kirghizistān and Turkistān, of the infamous practices of the Russian colonists placed on the lands of the Armenians when invaded and occupied in the beginning of the war by military commanders under orders from St Petersburg to establish a new cossack line in Ottoman territory. Wailings over the sorrowful plight of Armenia sound moreover exceedingly curious in the mouths of philanthropists who for forty years suffered their governments to repudiate, except in smooth phrases, the solemn vows of protection extended to the Armenians at the Congrès of Berlin and expressly embodied in article 61 of the treaty that crowned the labors there directed by the Iron Chancellor.⁵⁴

⁵² Quoted in a press-telegram from London, dated June 26, 1919.

⁵³ As Ahmad Pasha had to face a firing squad for his share in the disturbances of July, 1860, at Damascus, so Kamal Bey, Governor of Dyārbakir, was publicly hanged in Bayazid Square at Constantinople, for his part in the Armenian atrocities. Other officials accused and convicted of participation in them by overt acts of instigation or tacit consent, also expiated their guilt by capital punishment or were sentenced to hard labor or imprisonment in a fortress for a longer or shorter term, each according to the nature and degree of his offence. Jamāl Pasha, commander-in-chief in 'Arabistān, was condemned to death, together with Enver Pasha and Talāt Pasha, by a court-martial which, at the instance of the new Grand Vizir, Damad Farīd Pasha, investigated their conduct during the war. They managed to escape the extreme penalty by precipitate flight like Djavid Bey, late Turkish Minister of Finance, his fifteen years confinement in a penitentiary.

⁵⁴ Repeating the promise given to Russia when binding itself by the preliminaries of peace, formulated at San Stefano on March 3, 1878, "la Sublime Porte [s'engageait] à réaliser sans plus de retard les améliorations et les réformes exigées par les besoins locaux dans les provinces habitées par les Arméniens et à garantir leur sécurité contre les Kurdes et les Circassiens."

We should also not forget that the Armenians were well, in fact, exceptionally well, treated by the Porte as the *millat-y-sadiqah*, the "loyal, trustworthy nation," until their loyalty corroded in contact with Russian machinations. Nor that, at this juncture of Near Eastern events, their alleged title to the territory covered by ancient Cilicia together with the Armenian districts of Russian Transcaucasia and the seven Turkish vilayets^{**} which they claim as their own, in sharp conflict with French and Greek aspirations, does not serve any better to expedite the fulfilment of the pledges of 1878 in their behalf than do the British plans with regard to Ädarbayjan,^{***} while it is an indisputable fact that Armenia's calamities are greatly aggravated by mutually hostile efforts to extend the Allied spheres of exploitation notwithstanding the cantingly benevolent gushings of a well-disciplined Press.

Germany was, of course, utterly ignored in the scheme for a portioning out of Asia arduously but, thanks to jarring ambitions, joltingly pursued. Yet, though barred from the race for places in the sun^{**}—and, as Cousin Bette said, *il faut beaucoup de terre pour profiter du soleil*,—we may be sure that now already she is rearranging her score for an imposing piece of *Zukunfismusik* of oriental import. "Germany's friendship for Turkey [was] no sentimental one but a healthy, selfish interest which lay in the heart of Asia Minor."^{**} Strangely persuaded as they were and are, in bold assurance not a whit behind rival patrons of "backward oriental peoples," that their

^{**} Including Trebizond with the port of that name and Samstün as outlets on the Black Sea while Iskanderün (Alexandretta) would give them an opening on the Mediterranean.

^{***} Corresponding in a general way with the ancient Media, this wealthy province of northwestern Persia has been a constant objective of Russian penetration, pacific and otherwise. Evacuated by the Russian troops in consequence of the collapse of the Czarist régime, it now awaits with the equally new-fledged sister-republics of Armenia and Georgia what developments the imperialist scramble of the Entente and Associated Powers may bring.

^{**} With respect to Near Eastern ventures by article 155 of the Treaty of Versailles, which reads: "Germany undertakes to recognise and accept all arrangements which the allied and associated powers may make with Turkey and Bulgaria with reference to any rights, interests and privileges whatever which might be claimed by Germany or her nationals in Turkey and Bulgaria and which are not dealt with in the provisions of the present treaty."

^{**} To quote the anonymous author of *The Pan-Germanic Doctrine, being a Study of German Political Aims and Aspirations*.

influence is in every way beneficial,⁸⁰ that the providentially appointed medium of western civilisation is Germany, the Germans cannot be imagined to renounce without another struggle "the work handed down to them by the Hohenstaufen Emperor Henry VI—the idea of the "German intellectual conquest of the East."⁸¹⁸⁰ Whether the Turks are driven from the shadow of the Seven Towers laved by the waters of their Boghaz Ichy, or allowed to remain there, ostensibly as a sop to Islāmic sentiment in a section of the Muhammadan world whose opinion goes for something with the victors, Ayyub's sabre has been forced back over the Hellespont, and the ruling classes of its wielders, invited to Europe in 1358 by John Cantacuzenos, usurper of the Byzantine throne, face the indignity of returning whence they came in belated compliance with Gladstone's bag and baggage policy.⁸¹ As a matter of fact, the immanent strength of the Ottoman Empire had already shifted from the Golden Horn to Anatolia when the Young Turks plunged their country into the war. It is on record that Sultan 'Abd'al-Hamid II, familiarising himself with the advice of General von der Goltz, that Turkey should abandon her possessions

⁸⁰ A sentiment not wholly without foundation. Cf the statement of an author who cannot be suspected of a bias in favor of the Germans, namely, Mr PHILIPS PRICE, *The Problem of Asiatic Turkey*, *Contemporary Review*, February, 1914, where we read, e. g.: "As soon as I left the zone of German influence, I at once observed a change to a more primitive state of society. Indeed, it would not be too much to say that if some of the influence which Germany is now exercising in Anatolia and Cilicia were introduced into the Armenian vilayets, we should go a long way towards solving the Armenian question." Sir WILLIAM M. RAMSAY expresses himself even more strongly: "..... the Germans in Anatolia during the few years in which they influenced the country, did more to develop it and to improve its economic condition than the British Government has done during the entire time that it has influenced, often with almost complete predominance, the state of the Turkish Empire, because it either neglected or obstructed the efforts of private British enterprises to make use of and improve the country. It must be in honesty said for the Germans that they have constructed railways on a vast scale, engaged in irrigation works of a quite grandiose and impressive character, and undertaken other labours which promise to be of permanent benefit to the country. Nominally these are, like the British, matters of private initiative, but they are all more or less directly and expressly enterprises of the Deutsche Bank; and every one knows well that they are merely Government enterprises under the guise of private undertakings. They are great, beneficent and well-planned;....." *The Turkish Peasantry of Anatolia*, *Quarterly Review*, January, 1918.

⁸¹ Cf the Study cited in Note 88.

"The phrase seems to have originated with the Prince Consort Albert though its general currency dates from Gladstone's adopting it in a statement made in 1876, fifteen years after the former's death.

in Europe and Africa to establish herself firmly in Anatolia with Mesopotamia for background when his efforts to reanimate the Ottoman Empire with the crescent once more ascendant in three continents should miscarry, contemplated for this contingency the removal of the Sublime Porte from Constantinople to Brussa,⁹² a measure strongly recommended by his Grand Vizir Kutshuk Pasha.⁹³ But Muhammed VI, moving or not, will have to do without Mesopotamia, since lost to the house of Othman among so many fair lands and rich cities, alas! even Damascus of 'Umayyad renown and then another potential capital of its reduced domains.

Though as yet national consciousness is but slightly developed in the Moslim world, a change in that respect has set in with the Arabian movement, and a definitive displacement of the Ottoman centre of gravity from İstambül to Anatolia, restoring either Brussa or Konia, the old Seljūq capital, to its former glory, would agree with the nationalistic tendencies of the Turks awakened by the activities of Ziya Bey⁹⁴ and exploited by the Committee of Union and Progress. From one of those coigns of vantage the Pan-Turanian idea of lining up all Turks, with the Osmanlies as their leading clan, could profitably be pursued, considering the propitious course of events in Russia, whose Central Asiatic provinces are largely inhabited by Turkish kinsfolk profoundly stirred by the Pan-Islamic propaganda, even to the extent of forgetting their sectarian differences.⁹⁵ Ottoman diplomacy, guiding

⁹² Capital of the Osmanlies from its capture by Orkhan in 1329 until Murad I moved his Court to Adrianople after taking possession of that town in 1360.

⁹³ Cf ALI VEHBİ BEY, *Pensées et Souvenirs de l'ex-Sultan Abdul-Hamid*.

⁹⁴ A native of Dyārbakir who, having gone to Salonica on a political mission connected with the activity of the Committee of Union and Progress, founded there in 1909 the first Turkish nationalist society. A campaign was started to purify the Turkish language of Arabian and Persian words and expressions, to efface Qurānic texts in Arabic characters from the walls of Turkish mosques, even to discard the Arabic original of the Book for a Turkish translation, but whatever its general results amounted to, the movement met with little success in the ecclesiastical field while it served to widen the gulf between the Arabs and the Young Turks. Cf TEKİN ALP, *Türkismus und Pan-Türkismus*.

⁹⁵ At the All-Caucasian Muhammadan Congress, which met at Baku on April 28, 1917, the Sunnite mufty and the leading Shi'ite sheikh opened the proceedings with embracing each other in public. The Muhammadan Women's Congress, held in the same month at Orenburg, the All-Russian Muhammadan Congress at Moscow and the Muhammadan Military Congress at Kazan, which followed in May and August, cultivated that fraternising spirit while it was further encouraged by the Russian Muhammadan Council, specially appointed to look after the interests of the Moslemin affected by the breakdown of Czarist Russia. Cf for these and other particulars the able articles on *Turkey, Russia and Islam* and *Russia, Germany and Asia* in *The Round Table* of December, 1917, and June, 1918

the destinies of some 8.000.000 Anatolian Turks in agreement with the Tatars of the Crimea, the Muhammadans of the Caucasus (some 2.500.000 of whom are of the Turkish race) and the three great Tatar groups centred around Kazan, Tobolsk and Astrakhan, together some 16.000.000 Turkish speaking co-religionists, might well try to revive the scheme of a defensive alliance of Turkey, Persia⁶⁶ and Afghanistan, strengthened by the adhesion of Moslim Russia in Europe and Asia, and co-operating with a free United Arabia against infidel aggression or countervailing its nefarious influence under western control. The conception is not without merit but, unhappily for designs of the kind, Armenia lies as an insuperable obstacle in the path of their realisation, blocking it still more effectively than she does the consummation of French and Greek longings North of Syria and South of the Black Sea. In addition to this we may trust the victorious Powers of the Entente to see to it that Turkey does not nullify the advantageous results of the war by turning to account her inherent capacity for expansion any readier than Germany hers by the absorption of German Austria—Afghanistan is already taken care of, Persia bound hand and foot, and Anatolia, promoted to the dignity of being the home of the Ottoman Turks at a comparatively late date, invaded by filibustering hosts of divers western nationalities out for their respective countries' political aggrandizement and territorial gain.

If it knows how to wait, Turkish irredentism⁶⁷—leagued or not with Bolshevism!—may nevertheless have its opportunity as the Grand Sherif of Mecca had his, identifying himself with the Arabian movement. We speak of this because the question of the Khalifate,⁶⁸ viz. the mooted replacing of the Ottoman Commander of the Faithful

⁶⁶ Geographically the keystone of Islam.

⁶⁷ Directed in its present manifestations by Muṣṭafa Kamāl Pasha, whose services in the Balkan Wars qualified him for a high command in the Turkish army that confronted the Allies during the earlier part of the Gallipoli campaign. Transferred to the Asiatic provinces, he was entrusted with the defence of Erzerūm and served later on the Mesopotamian front. Outspoken in his criticism of German methods, he refused to submit to the dictatorial orders of General von Falkenhayn and resigned. Having rejoined Enver Pasha's forces when German strategy in the Near East had broken down, he was commissioned, after the armistice, to investigate the causes of the politically unsatisfactory condition of Asia Minor and assumed the leadership of the nationalistic movement in that region.

⁶⁸ Brought to the fore by the Arabian movement and, to quote RENÉ PINON, *La Réorganisation de la Turquie d'Asie, Revue des Deux Mondes*, August 15, 1913, "Le monde arabe c'est la grande inconnue de l'Asie occidentale, la grande réserve de l'avenir."

by an Arabian pretender of the true blood, Ḥusayn Ibn ‘Aly, Grand Sherif of Mecca and King of the Hejāz on probation, or an Egyptian dependent according to an earlier British project still held in reserve,” or perhaps a dark horse by way of compromise, is intimately bound up with the Syrian question as part and parcel of the eternal Eastern Question which made the main object of the war centre rather in the East than in the West. Syria, portal to one of the important passage-ways between Europe and Asia,¹⁰⁰ looms large in the liquidation in bankruptcy of the Ottoman Empire. Long desirous of rounding off her Egyptian holding with that region to link up with Mesopotamia,¹⁰¹ Great Britain appears now, or appeared according to the Sykes-Picot agreement, tardily carried out by the recent withdrawal of her troops from the Marash,¹⁰² ‘Ayntāb,¹⁰³ Urfah¹⁰⁴ and Nābulus areas, to reduce her claims there in favor of France, which had deemed it advisable to clinch moral persuasion with military action, holding Bayrūt by way of first security. But France still complains of Britain “setting to work systematically to ruin the French heritage in the East,” nay,

“Consolidating her gradually acquired predominance in Egypt, Great Britain has magnified the shadowy Khedivial authority by conferring the title of Sultan on Ḥusayn Kāmil, successor of Abbās Hilmy and since succeeded by Fu’ād, a younger son of the Khedive Ismā‘il, manifestly not without the *arrière-pensée*, inspired by her being the greatest Muhammadan Power, i. e. the Power whose rule extends over more Muhammadans than that of any other, to restore the seat of a generally recognised Khalifate to Cairo, in default of a higher ranking centre of Muhammadan influence under her sway, and so to attain control over Mecca and Medina too, as we have endeavored to explain elsewhere: *Constantinople and the Holy Places of Islām*, Oxford and Cambridge Review, October, 1912.

¹⁰⁰ And always recognised as such by longheaded statesmen. So we find f. i. in the clever if spurious will of Peter the Great, whose alleged testamentary advice has also, *en passant*, a reference to Persia that sounds most pertinent as Persian affairs are shaping now, the recommendation to his successors on the Muscovite throne “de se pénétrer de cette vérité, que le commerce des Indes est le commerce du monde, et que celui qui peut en disposer exclusivement est le vrai souverain de l’Europe; qu’en conséquence on ne doit perdre aucune occasion de susciter des guerres à la Perse, de hâter sa dégénérescence, de pénétrer jusqu’au golfe Persique et de tâcher alors de rétablir par la Syrie l’ancien commerce du Levant.” LESUR’s version.

¹⁰¹ Cf f. i. a pamphlet, *The Partition of Turkey an indispensable Feature of the Present Political Crisis*, published in 1853 by one possessed, it seems, of inside information, who preferred to conceal his identity under the much abused pseudonym VERITAS.

¹⁰² The Germanicia-Marasian of the Lower Empire.

¹⁰³ Two hours South-East of the mound which marks the site of Dolicha, once famous for its worship of Baal (Zeus Dolichenus).

¹⁰⁴ The Assyrian Ruhu, Syrian Urhoi, Greek Orrhoē, called Callirrhoē in the Seleucidian era and Edessa by the crusaders.

attempting to create disorder with the object of eventually stepping in, interposing by force of arms as the nearest Power in actual occupation of neighboring countries.¹⁰⁵ Britain reasons that the collapse of Russia has brought about changes which justify new interpretations of old arrangements.

"If Russia advances beyond the Araxes, she will be able to dominate Mesopotamia on the South and Anatolia on the West," wrote in 1914 a keen-sighted observer of the situation in the Near East.¹⁰⁶ This danger and the collateral one of Russia expanding farther to the South-West, have since temporarily subsided. France, besides, has an ancient, undeniable title to mandatory privileges in Syria if a mandatory there must be to preside over the evolution of the country's national existence. Unfortunately, the Syrians themselves are at variance, different religious and ethical groups clamoring for different guides on different roads to the goal of economical and political independence. Federal autonomy in that land of racial and sectarian vendettas is moreover menaced on the one hand by Zionist activities adding fuel to the fire of resentment at Damascus, capital of Syria proper, the "head of Syria,"¹⁰⁷ being lopped off to indulge the upstart royalty of the Hejâz, on the other hand by separatist agitations such as prompted the Maronites of the Lebanon to send a delegation to Paris to ask for downright French suzerainty. As represented by those spokesmen, the Lebanonians¹⁰⁸ do not restrict themselves to self-determination in the suggested sense and sweeping changes in their home government already advocated in 1860,¹⁰⁹ but wish to annex a considerable stretch of the coast, including the thriving ports of Bayrût, Sidon and Tripoli in addition to several towns in the

¹⁰⁵ ROBERT DE CAIX, *The Question of Syria* in *The New Europe* of August 28, 1919.

¹⁰⁶ PHILIPS PRICE, *op. cit.*

¹⁰⁷ ISAIAH, VII, 8.

¹⁰⁸ The population of the Lebanon was estimated in 1918 at "about 400,000, of whom 320,000 [were] Christians, 50,000 Druzes and the rest Moslems, with practically no Jews." Sir GEORGE ADAMS SMITH, *op. cit.*, p. 54. A. BERNARD, *op. cit.*, makes it 500,000 "sur 5700 kmq, soit 88 habitants au kmq."

¹⁰⁹ "Le Liban ne sera constitué d'une manière rationnelle et par conséquent durable, que le jour où, sans blesser les intérêts généraux qui y sont engagés, on lui aura donné pour capitales politiques ses capitales commerciales." *Damas et le Liban*, extract of a diary kept on a voyage through Syria, in 1860, by the Count of Paris and the Duke of Chartres.

interior outside of their mountain domain,¹¹⁰ urging that the future of Syria depends largely on the future of the Lebanon, her soul and intellectual centre.¹¹¹ A more pressing want than territorial expansion seems, however, to be of an agrarian character for despite emigration on an increasing scale before the war, land there could scarcely be purchased, one-third of the soil at the lowest estimate, and that the best, being owned in mortmain by the monasteries.¹¹²

With the British occupying Jerusalem and Palestine, the Arabs under the aegis of Great Britain in Damascus, Aleppo, Ḥoms and Ḥamā¹¹³ among the principal cities of the districts allotted to them, while the French are firmly ensconced in Bayrūt, Tripoli and Alexandretta, that is, with three governments set up in Syria and her smouldering enmities sedulously stirred by alien reformers never at a loss for a doctrine to prove that they are the people to solve the Turkish tangle, no further comment is needed to demonstrate that the country contains at present in its state of national incompleteness more explosive material than at any time in its stormy past. We are witnessing there a continuation of the old, old story in one of its episodes so graphically told by Iskander Ibn Ya'qūb Abkāriūs, a scramble for first place in the competition for commercial increase, profitable banking and attractive investments for foreign capital—where peace cannot hive, privateering will thrive. Yet here, perhaps, is the best chance for the Ottoman Empire to escape total dismemberment. Apart from the long-pending, ticklish problem of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, and the complications inseparable from the division of such in many respects indivisible wares as the outlying provinces of Turkey in Asia,¹¹⁴ a certain coterie of *la haute finance*, which, inter-

¹¹⁰ "Beaucoup de Maronites demeurent en dehors de la montagne (environ 150.000); on en compte 55.000 à Beyrouth, 15.000 à Damas." A. BERNARD, *op. cit.*

¹¹¹ To conclude their argument with a proposition formulated by K. T. KHAIRALLA, the author of the book mentioned in Note 76 and at the time of Jamāl Pasha's iron rule condemned to death in absentia like Khalil Zanyah, another patriot working for his country's independence under the auspices of France.

¹¹² W. MILLER, *op. cit.*

¹¹³ Once a royal city of the Hittites, the biblical "Hamath, which belongeth to Judah, . . ." II KINGS, XIV, 28.

¹¹⁴ Cf VON MOLTKE: "Endlich verhält es sich mit der Theilung der Türkei wie mit der Theilung eines Brillantringes: es fragt sich wer den kostbarsten Solitär, Konstantinopel, besitzen, wer sich mit den wertloseren Rest, mit weiten Landstreichen, die von halbbarbarischen Völkern bewohnt sind, genügen lassen soll." *Zur orientalischen Frage (Deutschland und Palästina)*.

nationally interested, has a big stake in the Near and Middle East, may be counted upon for a vigorous effort to prevent it and "to preserve a nominal suzerainty of the corrupted Ottoman Government over the vast area of Asia Minor, in order to revive the dearly beloved system of concession-hunting in those regions."¹¹⁵ In this connection the alarm may be remembered which on October 31, 1914, threw the Paris Bourse quotations into a flutter when the news was received of M. Bompard having left Constantinople together with Sir Louis Mallet, the British, and M. de Giers, the Russian ambassador to the Porte, for it meant that France was irrevocably at war with the Ottoman Empire, too, while more than 60 per cent of the Ottoman public debt and more than 50 per cent of the European money invested in Turkish enterprises were held or furnished by French capitalists.

At the moment of our writing this, the fate of Constantinople incidental to the partition of Asiatic Turkey, is still on the knees of the gods with the distribution of some choice lots, however, already fairly settled, the long litigious if tentatively earmarked sections of Syria with Palestine and Mesopotamia heading the list. Besides opening an alternative way by land to the oil-wells and other natural riches of Persia, Mesopotamia is on its own account a valuable acquisition, notably so for the occupants of India. The opinion of Sir Bartle Frere, expressed in a Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1872, that, properly cultivated, it might from its abundance make Indian famines if not impossible, at any rate much less dreadful, has since been verified by Sir William Willcocks who, appointed by the Sublime Porte to devise projects for its irrigation, predicted that "the day they are carried out, the two great rivers will hasten to respond, and Babylonia will yet once again see her waste places becoming inhabited and the desert blossoming like the rose."¹¹⁶ In that work of reclamation the Baghdad Railway, originally a British conception and therefore most fitly to be completed under preponderantly British auspices, is destined to

¹¹⁵ A shrewd remark of a well-informed contributor to *The New Europe* of October 17, 1918, who signs himself SILHOUETTE.

¹¹⁶ *Mesopotamia: Past, Present and Future*, paper read by Sir WILLIAM WILLCOCKS at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, November 15, 1909. Apart from its agricultural possibilities, Mesopotamia possesses oil-deposits far richer, we are told, than those of Persia.

play an important part. As regards Syria, of yore a land of plenty, praised by the Arabian geographers for its opulence and splendor, it waits only for the cessation of internal strife, long fostered by European interference, to pour forth afresh its wine and fruit, to stock the markets of the three continents with its corn and wool and flax, its silks and woven fabrics.

Ostensibly desirous to stimulate the evolution of the East, Near and Far, on progressive lines not solely calculated to cater to the appetites and avarice of foreign invaders, the West will surely best succeed in that loudly advertised missionary work by dropping the air of superiority which, with a meddlesome temper, has so far hindered more than assisted progress. Syria with the Lebanon is a good instance in point and its present tribulations resemble those of the 'forties and 'sixties, to borrow a simile from a great Arab historian,¹¹⁷ as water resembles water. Spurred by the same motives, we see France once more playing out the Maronites against Britain, exactly as she did in 1860, and Britain playing out against France the Arabs and the Jews as then she did the Druzes, a game of skill backed by force, in which the new frontiers on the map of the Near and Middle East will be traced by the strongest hand and the permanence of control will be determined by the soundness of that hand's directing intellect—subject to the hazards of the dangerous gamble in broken promises and violated compacts now again merrily going on. Experience counting for something with the Power that is to prevail in the Lebanon, it will develop the Mount's agricultural and industrial resources, emancipating the country, prompting common sense to react on the arrogant bigotry that has engendered so much woe and distress. In the rest of Syria, too, as in the other reclaimed dependencies of the Ottoman Empire, western energy, purified of its ultra-materialistic dross, crying to their latent capacity for good "*Veni foras!*" and trying to keep performance not too far behind the fine professions profusely blazed about, we may see happen what has happened so often in the relations between East and West from times immemorial, that close communion will retroactively redound to the

¹¹⁷ IBN KHALDŪN, philosophising in his brilliant *Muqaddamah* or Preface to his Universal History.

- ultimate spiritual and therefore most essential profit of the *soi-disant* civiliser in contact with real civilisation.¹¹⁸

If, even with this conditionally hopeful finale, our commentary on Manuscript Nr 759 of the Landberg Collection of Yale University appears unduly pessimistic, the character of its contents, shrilly emphasized by current events in the Near East, is more to blame than we: in laying stress on the complicity of European jealousies and ambitions in the massacres of 1860, and the consequent muddling of Syrian affairs as continued up to date, our aim has been expository, not controversial. And if, none the less, our criticism of western methods in dealing with the East displeases by its frankness, the excuse we wish to offer is that without any intention of hurting religious or national feelings, some plain speaking seemed necessary to clinch the moral of the narrative here presented, that, namely, the introduction of western culture and civilisation into eastern lands in the time-honored manner, lately dubbed the ethical one *par excellence*, is not an unmixed blessing—to say the least of it.

¹¹⁸ "But the leaders of the new age in Asia have a higher view of their mission than a mere raising of their state to the materialistic standards of modern civilisation. Exploitation, efficiency and education are to them only means to an end. They believe, as do many of us, that the European social system and standards of civilisation have in themselves no long life left to them but are awaiting a reanimation, a reinspiration from outside, and that the social mind and body have developed until the communal soul is dead and can only be revived by a spiritual reawakening. Where now could such a reawakening come from if not from the birthplace of all great spiritual revivals in the Near East." *Nationalism and War in the Near East* by a Diplomat; edited by Lord COURTNEY OF PENWITH, p. 384.



APPENDIX.

I

CONVENTION OF PEACE BETWEEN THE
CHRISTIANS AND THE DRUZES.¹

We, the undersigned, Kaimakam, Onakils [Ouakils], Mokatadgis, Dwan [Divan] and the principal people among the Christians, having gone, according to the orders of his Excellency the Mushir of Saida, to his Excellency the Kada and Kaimakam of his Excellency Onasfi [Ouasfi] Effendi, after having conferred with the Kaimakam, the Onakils, Mokatadgis, Dwan and principals of the Druzes, endeavouring both one and the other to root out the causes of disunion which have taken place, and to secure public tranquility for the future, conformably to the orders of his Excellency and for the love of the country.

We admit that since the commencement of these disturbances, the Government, the chiefs of the country, the reasonable men and those who love the country and tranquility, have never ceased to prevent their taking place. But whereas, from the machinations of those who love disorder, and principally persons who have no pity on newborn babes, young boys and girls, and from the obstinacy of unreasonable men, they were not able to prevent war from breaking out; admitting also that in such a state of things there is no other means of putting an end to the effusion of blood, and producing a general peace, than concluding a treaty between the belligerent parties, conformably to the condition of that which was made in the year 1261 of the Hegira [1845], which is "Oblivion of what has taken place."

It has consequently been agreed, with the help of God, to draw up this treaty of general peace on the above-mentioned conditions, and that for all that has happened from the commencement of the general war to the present time none of the parties has the right of making any claim either for the present or the future; that after the signature of this treaty whoever shall seek to break the peace shall be immediately punished by the authorities, and whoever shall endeavour to protect him shall be also punished. All the chiefs must in such a case unite to prevent the recurrence of such a fact.

¹ Published in the London *Times* of July 30, 1860.

The orders of the authorities will be issued in conformity with the regulations of the mountain. The Kaimakam and the Mokatadgis must also conform their actions to the administrative regulations of the Lebanon, without any change, and must promptly execute all the orders of the authorities, and make the latter acquainted with the state of affairs whenever it may be necessary so to do. They must use all their efforts to promote union, friendship and concord between the two nations; to procure the tranquility and welfare of all its inhabitants, and particularly to endeavour to bring every individual back to his house, to live there in peace, and resume the possession of his property, without any one throwing any obstacle or molesting him in so doing. They shall in case of need, lend their co-operation to the people, in conformity with the regulations of the Government and with the aid of his Excellency the Muschir.

Prompt means shall be adopted as soon as possible to put an end to any cause of disunion, and restore relations of friendship and general tranquility, conformably to the will and the orders of the Sultan, whom God preserve, and to the intentions of his Excellency the Muschir. But, as it is admitted that the principal causes of disorder are to be found in the carelessness with which the orders and regulations of the administration are executed, the undersigned beseech his Excellency to take effectual measures for the administration of justice with impartiality to every one.

All the Mokatadgis and officials must perform the duties confided to them with zeal and attention, in conformity with the regulations of the mountain, without allowing any one to be treated with the slightest injustice—duties which it is hoped they will fulfil with conscientious eagerness and impartiality.

Conformably with the above, peace is concluded between us on the condition above named, and it has been considered proper to draw up four copies of it, signed by each nation, two of which will be exchanged between the parties, and two will be presented to his Excellency the Muschir, to be kept in the archives of the Government, and serve as the rule of conduct for the present and the future.

[Here follow the signatures.]

II

LETTER FROM THE GREEK BISHOP OF TYRE AND SIDON TO THE PEOPLE OF RĀSHAYĀ.¹

To our Glorious Children, exalted and greatly honoured Sheiks, Gentlemen and Elders of our Nation, the Orthodox, in Rasheya of the Valley,—May you remain for ever honoured. May there be bestowed upon you the blessings of Heaven, and I beseech the Creator of the universe that your lives may be preserved and that you may be successful. I desire to see you increase in all health and wealth.

We declare unto you, my children, with respect to present events occurring among the Druzes, who are corruptors upon the earth and the authors of unjust deeds which are notorious and of unlawful acts which are according to their religion, that our Christian people, beloved in the Lord their God, have awakened, and so likewise have those who hold high power, and who are overshadowed by the providence of the Virgin, to overcome the Druzes, whom Satan has prompted to these evil deeds.

Now there has been a general meeting on the mountain of Lebanon of the chiefs of the people of Zahleh, Deir el-Kamar, Keserawan, Jezzin and the neighbouring places; and they will be as one hand against this nation [the Druzes], small in numbers and weak, in destroying them from out of the land which before was that of your forefathers, the orthodox nation.

Especially because there has come to us a letter from his Holiness, our lord, the exalted Patriarch, instructing us to aid the aforesaid people as they may determine; and for this purpose came the letter, that you may every one of you be prepared with all necessary arms, and that you should strengthen each other. Hereafter inform hereof your Christian children in your neighbourhood secretly, in order to overcome your enemies, the Druzes aforesaid.

It is determined here [at Hāṣbayyā, where the bishop resided] that on Monday next, if it please God, there shall be fighting under the venerated Princes, for it is not unknown to you that they strengthen our power and show zeal to all our people. Wherefore make your-

¹ Published in the London *Times* of September 17, 1860.

selves ready and through the blessing of our Sovereign Mother of God, the country will be cleared of your enemies in all directions, of whose enmity to your religion you need not be informed. May our blessing be for ever upon you.

This letter was sealed with the episcopal seal which bore in its centre the sentence: "From the humble Sophronius, Bishop of Tyre and Sidon," while by its side was written: "Glory to God for ever, from the humble among the high-priests, Sophronius, Bishop of Tyre and Sidon." At the foot of the letter was the signature: "The author and writer, the humble Sophronius, Bishop of Tyre and Sidon."

III

ADDRESS OF AN INFLUENTIAL MOSLIM TO HIS CO-RELIGIONISTS IN DAMASCUS.¹

Praise be to God, who is free from unrighteousness and righteousness is one of his attributes! He made His creatures alike in creating them from the same substance. None can be acceptable before Him but through piety, which is founded upon the observation of the law. Let every one come forward with his works and compare them with the law. If they are in conformity with it, he will be happy, otherwise he will be a great loser. Blessing and peace be upon our Lord Muhammad, who has been sent a mercy to the world, and who spoke in the name of his Lord Most High, saying: "Ye creatures of God, injustice is unlawful for you, having deemed it always unlawful even for me; act not unjustly against each other." And now, ye men, fear God, and know that injustice makes those who commit it hateful and disliked in this life and leads them to torment in the life to come. Is not he who sheds the blood of a Moslem, a Zimmi or a refugee the most unjust man? Yea, is not he that violates a Moslem, Zimmi or refugee woman the most unjust man? Yea, is not he who destroys the house of a Moslem, Zimmi or refugee the most unjust man? The Zimmies and refugees are like unto us, we, Moslems, in all the rights, as it has been related that the lord of men [Muhammad]—may God bless and salute him—has said about the Zimmies: "They have what we have and what is against them is against us." How did the perpetrators of these acts [the massacres at Damascus and elsewhere] feel justified in committing them? How did they think it lawful for them to shed blood, insult women and rob property? Did they find that in a book revealed after the Qoran or did they rather gather it from the sayings of an apostle sent after the Lord of the sons of Adam? Say to them: "Bring forward your evidence if you are right. Why are you silent? Are you asleep or have you been deprived of your dreams?" Nay, the devil has possessed them and led them astray. Indeed, this evil work is no less than pulling down the founda-

¹ Published in the London *Times* of October 6, 1860, which does not give the influential Moslim's name.

tion of religion and the doers of it can no longer be included among Moslems. Whosoever says that it is not right to chastise and punish these [evil-] doers is one of the deceivers and offenders. Wake up, ye creatures of God, from your sleep and slumbers, and submit to the decrees of God and obey your rulers. Those who despised the law of God and disobeyed it and offended the Zimmies, shall be punished in this life and a severe punishment awaits them in the life to come.

IV

PROTOCOL OF JUNE 9TH, 1861, REGARDING THE APPOINTMENT OF A CHRISTIAN GOVERNOR FOR THE LEBANON.¹

Protocole adopté par la Porte et les Représentants des Cinq Grandes Puissances à la suite de l'entente à laquelle a donné lieu de leur part l'examen du projet de règlement élaboré par une Commission Internationale pour la réorganisation du Liban. Ce projet de Règlement, daté du 1 Mai, 1861, ayant été, après modifications introduites d'un commun accord, converti en règlement définitif, sera promulgué sous la forme de firman par Sa Majesté Imperiale le Sultan, et communiqué officiellement aux Représentants des Cinq Grandes Puissances.

L'article I a donné lieu à la déclaration suivante faite par son Altesse Aali Pacha, et acceptée par les cinq Représentants:

“Le Gouverneur Chrétien chargé de l'administration du Liban sera choisi par la Porte, dont il relèvera directement. Il aura le titre de Mouchir, et il résidera habituellement à Deir-el-Kamar, qui se trouve replacée sous son autorité directe. Investé de l'autorité pour trois ans, il sera néanmoins amovible, mais sa révocation ne pourra être prononcée qu'à la suite d'un jugement. Trois mois avant l'expiration de son mandat, la Porte, avant d'aviser, provoquera une nouvelle entente avec les Représentants des Grandes Puissances.”

Il a été entendu également que le pouvoir conféré par la Porte à ce fonctionnaire, de nommer sous sa responsabilité les Agents Administratifs, lui serait conféré une fois pour toutes, au moment où il serait lui-même investi de l'autorité, et non pas à propos de chaque nomination.

Relativement à l'article X, qui a trait au procès entre les sujets ou protégés d'une Puissance étrangère, d'une part, et les habitants de la Montagne d'autre part, il a été convenu qu'une Commission Mixte siégeant à Beyrouth serait chargée de vérifier et de reviser les titres de protection.

Afin de maintenir la sécurité et la liberté de la grande route de

¹ *Parliamentary Papers*, 1861, Syria, II, 127.

Beyrouth à Damas en tout temps, la Sublime Porte établira un block-house sur le point de la susdite route qui lui paraîtra le plus convenable.

Le Gouverneur du Liban pourra procéder au désarmement de la Montagne lorsqu'il jugera les circonstances et le moment favorables.

Pera, le 9 Juin, 1861.

AALI,
HENRY L. BULWER,
LAVALETTE,
PROKESCH-OSTEN,
GOLTZ,
A. LOBANOW.

